

F B I

Date: 10/22/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM : SAC CHICAGO (157-0)

SUBJECT: ~~RAMPART MAGAZINE~~
~~INFORMATION CONCERNING~~

~~REC-44~~

On 10/22/64, _____

_____ advised she was in possession of a page from "Time" Magazine which contained an advertisement of the "Rampart" Magazine. She stated that this advertisement contained a number of quotes of Cardinal MC INTYRE of Los Angeles, numerous pictures, and signs such as a Nazi Swastika, "The God d---white man read this book-- Harlem Diary", and "The Communist Party is a white man's organization". _____ stated that this advertisement appeared in an 10/23/64 issue of "Time" Magazine and that "Rampart" Magazine was advertised as a Catholic journal of independent opinion printed at Menlo Park, California.

_____ "Time" Magazine, advised that the above advertisement appeared in the 10/23/64, "Educator's Edition". The above is furnished to Bureau and New York for information.

RAMPARTS " Also
Am. B.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/6/80 BY nic

REG-44
MCT 100-445393-X

20 OCT 26 1964

3) - Bureau
2 - New York
1 - Chicago

EX-102

JWT:ptc

(6)

NOV 3 1964 44 4126

CRIMINAL RESEARCH

Rufus S. Stahl
FBI - Chicago

G. C. W. W.
Approved

Sent _____

MAF 171967

Special Agent in Charge

M. J. P.

b6
b7C

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : ASAC, NORFOLK (100-0)

SUBJECT: MAGAZINE "RAMPARTS"
INFORMATION CONCERNING
[REDACTED]

DATE: 3/1/66

4036

Enclosed for the Bureau is literature which was received by [REDACTED] Office of Naval Intelligence, Atlantic Intelligence Center, Norfolk, Va., who forwarded this material to the Norfolk Division, thinking that it may be of a subversive nature.

b6
b7C

It is requested that the Bureau furnish the Norfolk Division any information of interest which could be disseminated to the Office of Naval Intelligence.

*See Norfolk
3/2/66*

2-Bureau (Enc. 4) (Rec'd.)
1-Norfolk
ET:bsw
(3)

*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
116/8C BY [REDACTED] REC*

1cc 932 (REC)

MAR 3 1966 BY [REDACTED]

- REC 20

100-445393-X1

62-0-60710

MAR 3 1966

*+ 19.9.
100-445393
MAR 3 1966*

MAR 1 7 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed In the United States

Postage Will Be Paid by

RAMPARTS
MENLO PARK
CALIFORNIA

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO. 219
MENLO PARK
CALIF.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

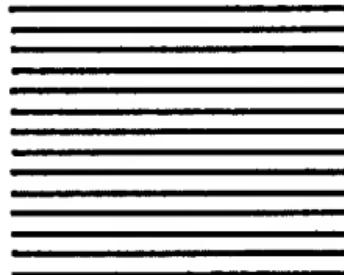
No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

Postage Will Be Paid by

Ramparts

MENLO PARK
CALIFORNIA

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO. 219
MENLO PARK
CALIF.





**SPECIAL
FREE TRIAL
OFFER**

If I am not completely satisfied with my first issue of RAMPARTS, I may cancel my subscription, keep the issue, keep the *Vietnam Primer*...and owe nothing.

Please enter a trial subscription to RAMPARTS in my name at the special rate of six months for only \$2.67.

Also send me FREE, at once, a copy of the *Vietnam Primer*.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

Name _____
Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP # _____

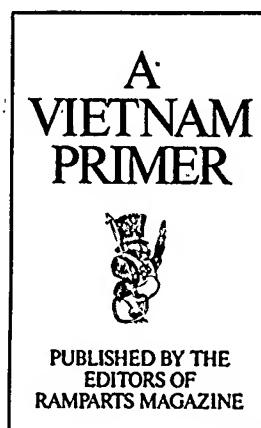
I prefer 12 months for \$5.00
 Payment enclosed
(Refunded in full, of course, if subscription cancelled)
 Bill me

42AFB

Free

with your subscription to **Ramparts**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF



The full story, the real story of the Vietnam War-- from start to ???

New! First
time offered

"The wicked are wicked no doubt," wrote William Makepeace Thackeray, "and they go astray and they fall, and they come by their deserts; but who can tell the mischief which the very virtuous do?"

This thought applies with extraordinary precision to the U.S. position in Vietnam.

Month after month RAMPARTS has revealed new behind-the-scenes information about the Vietnam War—the *true*, stranger-than-fiction way the U.S. got involved, the steps that escalated the war, the attitudes of our military and political leaders, the prospects and alternatives for the future.

Now for the first time, these RAMPARTS articles have been gathered together in one 96-page book. Contents include:

Interview with Senator Frank Church

"Hang Down Your-Head-Tom Dooley" by Robert Scheer

"The Vietnam Lobby" by Robert Scheer and Warren Hinckle

"This Isn't Munich, It's Spain" by Bernard Fall

"The Winner's War" by Robert Scheer

"A Citizen's White Paper on Vietnam" by Marcus Raskin

These articles have created comment and controversy everywhere. They have affected Washington policy-making. They have made front porch conversation and front page news.

Drew Pearson devoted an entire column to "The Vietnam Lobby," calling it "a carefully detailed and very important story." Just recently Richard Starnes, syndicated Scripps-Howard columnist, praised Bernard Fall's report, "This Isn't Munich, It's Spain," as a "classical statement of true American aims in Southeast Asia."

The Vietnam Primer makes fascinating reading. Reading that will give you new knowledge and a new perspective on the most difficult and misunderstood moral, political and military problem of our time.

The Vietnam Primer is not for sale anywhere, at any price. But it's yours free with an introductory subscription to RAMPARTS. To get your copy before the limited supply is exhausted, mail the enclosed postage-free card today.

Ramparts

Menlo Park, California

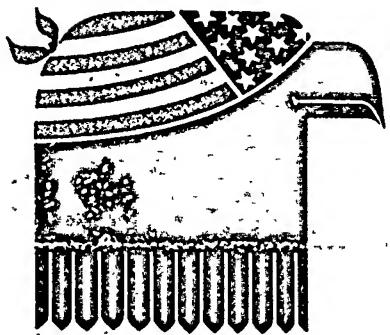
Ramparts

Menlo Park

California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

The American eagle has grown a blindfold ...



... a blindfold woven of the
veils of prejudice, ignorance
and indifference that alienate
man from man.

Our society basks comfortably
in the dull gray glow of the
television set; it is losing
its commitment to care. But
like the weather, nobody does
anything about it.

RAMPARTS is the new, exciting monthly magazine that is doing something
about it. And expresses its concern in a fiercely independent, refreshing
fashion that has in turn alarmed, outraged and delighted readers across
the country.

RAMPARTS probes, analyzes, dissects -- with often stunning candor --
those elements of society that tend to artificially separate men. Ghettos are
ghettos, whether they be economic, social, political, cultural or religious.
RAMPARTS is dedicated to breaking down those walls, and to building up the
things that unite men -- literature, the arts, philosophy, the power of ideas
that raise the mind and unfreeze the heart.

RAMPARTS takes no doctrinaire positions. It points out alternatives.
It exposes hypocrisy. It dares to ask why.

RAMPARTS IS A MAGAZINE OF CHALLENGE

It began with a challenge to the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church
in America:

"Get off the ball. You preach social justice
and love for fellow men. But on racism, on
poverty, on nuclear war, the Catholic Church
stays comfortably silent, does little. You
just don't want to rock the boat."

That challenge was issued by a Catholic layman, Edward M. Keating, the
publisher of RAMPARTS. He founded RAMPARTS, in 1962, as a needed gadfly for
"ghetto Catholicism." But the editors of RAMPARTS soon found that all ghettos
were not the exclusive property of the church of Rome. Protestants and Jews
lived the same short-sighted lives. So Jews like critic Leslie Fiedler and
philosopher Abraham Heschel came into the pages of RAMPARTS. And Protestants,
like Robert McAfee Brown, professor of religion at Stanford University. The
cherished illusions of all churches became subject to challenge.

(over, please)

The walls of separation between men are not confined to the inadequacies of organized religion. All the forces that make up the Establishment -- big government, big business, big labor, obsequity in literature, the reactionary in art, professional bureaucrats -- are, in the pages of RAMPARTS, subjects for unorthodox reporting and unabashedly stimulating articles.

RAMPARTS refuses to accept the traditional way of looking at issues. This fresh approach to magazine journalism is why RAMPARTS' editors told the story of Selma as a Civil War battle -- complete with battle maps, military organization charts and an intriguing moral: the Civil War isn't over, yet. And why RAMPARTS can calmly delineate the history of enmity of Arab for Jew, boldly discuss some blemishes in the legend of Dr. Tom Dooley, point out the social "menace" of Barbie dolls, or challenge physicians to think of their patients before their pocketbooks.

"I only wish that more magazines had the guts RAMPARTS possesses," writes (Mrs.) Bette L. Stern of Los Angeles.

RAMPARTS IS A MAGAZINE OF CONTROVERSY

It is not only on top of the news. It makes news. When RAMPARTS speaks, people listen. After RAMPARTS published an unusually blunt interview with Senator Frank Church on the debacle of the United States policy in Vietnam, the New York Times deemed the interview worthy of a front page story in its Sunday edition and a lead editorial in Monday's paper.

After the slayings of the three Mississippi civil rights workers had gone unsolved for nearly a year, RAMPARTS sent a team of reporters into the Mississippi Delta to find the murderers. They found them. And the first "extra" in the magazine's history came out -- with the full terrifying story of the murders. RAMPARTS offered its evidence to the Justice Department, accused it of "dereliction of duty" in not acting. Within weeks, 21 Mississippians were indicted.

A nation-wide controversy was sparked when RAMPARTS published charges by a Roman Catholic priest that Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles was a reactionary who disciplined his clerics for speaking against racism. RAMPARTS was right in the middle of that fight. The fight continues. Wrote Robert R. Kirsch, the book editor of the Los Angeles Times:

"Considering some of the pressures which have been exerted to keep RAMPARTS off the newsstands, it takes no little courage and concern to read it here in Southern California."

RAMPARTS IS A MAGAZINE OF CONSCIENCE

With a philosophical impetus stemming from the Judeo-Christian ethic, RAMPARTS brings together writers and critics -- Protestants, Catholics, Jews and agnostics -- who share a common moral indignation at the growing shapelessness of their society. Its editors and contributors are men of intense convictions. They speak out. They name names. They listen to one another. When they disagree, they disagree in stimulating exchanges of opinion that make for exciting reading rarely found in American periodicals.

Whether it is an American Indian documenting the continuing disgraceful treatment of his people; or a distinguished Johns Hopkins psychiatrist eval-

ating man's greatest curse; or a Protestant challenging Catholics to stop talking and start doing something about religious liberty; or a Jew discussing the "vanishing point" of his people's awareness of themselves as Jews -- readers of RAMPARTS become vibrantly engaged in an unspoken dialogue that sets off quiet explosions along the dark runways of the mind.

"It is my fervent hope," wrote reader Ed LaRue, "that your noble experiment will prosper and so take its place among other worthy indices of a true spiritual awakening among human beings, today, to the urgent need of 'being human.'"

PROVOCATIVE AND CIVILIZED COVERAGE OF THE ARTS

The editors of RAMPARTS are uniquely appreciative of the wide range of interests of the literate person. RAMPARTS' pages are colored with the patina of the arts -- and extraordinary fragments of insight into human nature. Here is a sampling of recent RAMPARTS coverage of literature, music, art, theatre, history, cinema and American manners: full-color art section of the bizarre, wheeled sculpture of custom car designer Ed (Big Daddy) Roth ... the unpublished letters of the despairing François Poulenc ... an intimate portrait of Charlie Chaplin's reclining years ... a stunning pictorial account of the last days of the old-time New Orleans jazz men ... the inspiring temper tantrums of John Quincy Adams ... a great Russian film director reminisces about Ernest Hemingway in Spain ... the editors succumb to eight pages of unabashed nostalgia over Humphrey Bogart ... a Jew discusses "The Chanukah Hangup" ... a preview of Luis Bunel's new film ... a backhanded tour of New York's discotheques ... a radical theatrical troupe gets its productions off the stage and into the streets ... a moving account of the last six months of sociologist C. Wright Mills ... the new protest music and how it grew.

Fiction in RAMPARTS is of an essentially provocative nature (Leslie Fiedler's "The Last Jew in America" had national repercussions), and the editors are not averse to publishing portions of short novels -- Maude Hutchins' bizarre and highly acclaimed "Blood on The Doves" is scheduled this February; RAMPARTS prints works by poets of the calibre of Conrad Aiken, Allen Tate, Brother Antoninus, and John Berryman; art portfolios are frequent and of generous proportions.

RAMPARTS' characteristic independent opinions embrace the world of literature, too. A RAMPARTS contributor said of Dwight Macdonald: "A dealer in silly quarter truths." Another dismissed the Saturday Review as "Philistine." The book section, edited by jazz expert Ralph J. Gleason, is candid, often acidic, controversial and, of course, swinging. Critic Maxwell Geismar had this to say about Saul Bellow's highly acclaimed Herzog:

"I regard the reception of this book as the greatest literary scandal of the year. All I can do to console myself is to remember that Mary McCarthy's The Group had the same reception, and both of these novels, I think, are complete sellouts, and both of these writers, by now, are completely commercial and corrupt."

A TRIAL OFFER

The editors of RAMPARTS -- Edward M. Keating, Leslie Fiedler, John Howard Griffin, Paul Jacobs, Martin Turnell, Maxwell Geismar, Robert McAfee Brown,

Arthur A. Cohen, William Stringfellow and Wallace Fowlie -- join with me in inviting you to share the independent opinions of RAMPARTS at the special rate of six months for only \$2.67 (regularly \$4.50 on newsstands).

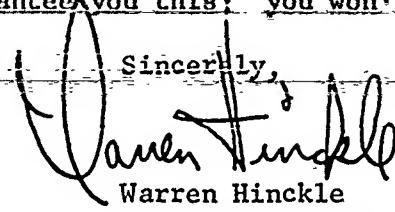
And if you act promptly, your subscription will begin in time to catch these upcoming features in RAMPARTS: "The Duncan Papers," the explosive diaries of a United States Special Forces hero in Vietnam. The publication of this document is expected to cause a national furor bigger than the storm over "The Green Berets" ... "Metropoly," a richly detailed, 26-page special report on the games the city leaders of Oakland, California play as their city smolders towards becoming "the next Watts" ... Paul Jacobs, author of the controversial "Is Curly Jewish?" writes on the lesser known attractions of tattooing... the "Gnosticism" of the National Review ... the story of the outrageous decline and fall of Maine's Passamaquoddy Indians... a historical account of Thoreau as the father-figure of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations... Fred J. Cook's massive reevaluation of the Warren Commission Report on President Kennedy's assassination ... advertising man Howard Gossage humorously lambasts the foibles of his Madison Avenue fellow ... and special issues on "The Liberal Establishment in America"; "The Heartland of the Radical Right" in Orange County, California; and "The South Africa Syndrome" -- how the United States supports the economy of a racist nation.

It is this type of stimulating publishing, done with nerve and verve, that prompted Donald Stanley, the literary editor of The San Francisco Examiner, to write of RAMPARTS: "This magazine is bursting with imagination. Its articles are usually intelligent and sparkling; its presentation is surpassed by no other national publication. One doesn't just read RAMPARTS. One digs it."

If you find RAMPARTS too candid, simply cancel your subscription within 10 days after receiving the first issue and pay nothing.

We invite you to share RAMPARTS' indignation, and enjoy its insights. A reader summed it up better than we ourselves can: "I enjoy RAMPARTS," he wrote, "because it is concerned about the REAL things that build up and tear down the world we all live in." You may become angry at some things we print. We hope you'll be delighted. But we can guarantee you this: you won't be indifferent.

Sincerely,


Warren Hinckle
Executive Editor

WH:AFB



IMPORTANT EXTRA!

By subscribing now you will receive a free copy of the new 96-page book, A Vietnam Primer, described in the accompanying flyer. To get this big double value, return the enclosed order card today.

14-2020-001
14-2020-001

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

b6
b7CDate March 3, 1966

Information previously received and disseminated concerning the efforts of [redacted] of "Ramparts" magazine, to arrange press conferences and/or public appearances of [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] have both been critical of our policy in Vietnam. Stone is apparently trying to gain publicity for sensational type articles appearing in "Ramparts."

We will continue to follow this matter and to furnish all pertinent information to the Department and interested agencies.

WLS:cwb



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

TELETYPE UNIT

MAR 2 1966

3

AUTHORITY DERIVED
FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION CODE 29
DATE 02-08-2011

Mr. Tolson

Mr. DeLoach, Gandy

Mr. Mohr

Mr. Wick

Mr. Casper

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Conrad

Mr. Felt

Mr. Gale

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Tavel

Mr. Trotter

Tele. Room

Miss Holmes

Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK

1239 AM URGENT 3-3-66 AXS ENCODED MESSAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO DIRECTOR ---1--- ---ENCODED---

FROM NEW YORK (157-1300) 2P

INTERNAL SECURITY-COMMUNIST

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE -IS-C-

(S)

b1

END OF PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-21

16 MAR 4 1966

CLASS. & EXC. 6
REASON-FCIM II. 1-2-4-3-6-2
DATE OF REVIEW 8/3/186

241
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50 MAR 14 1966

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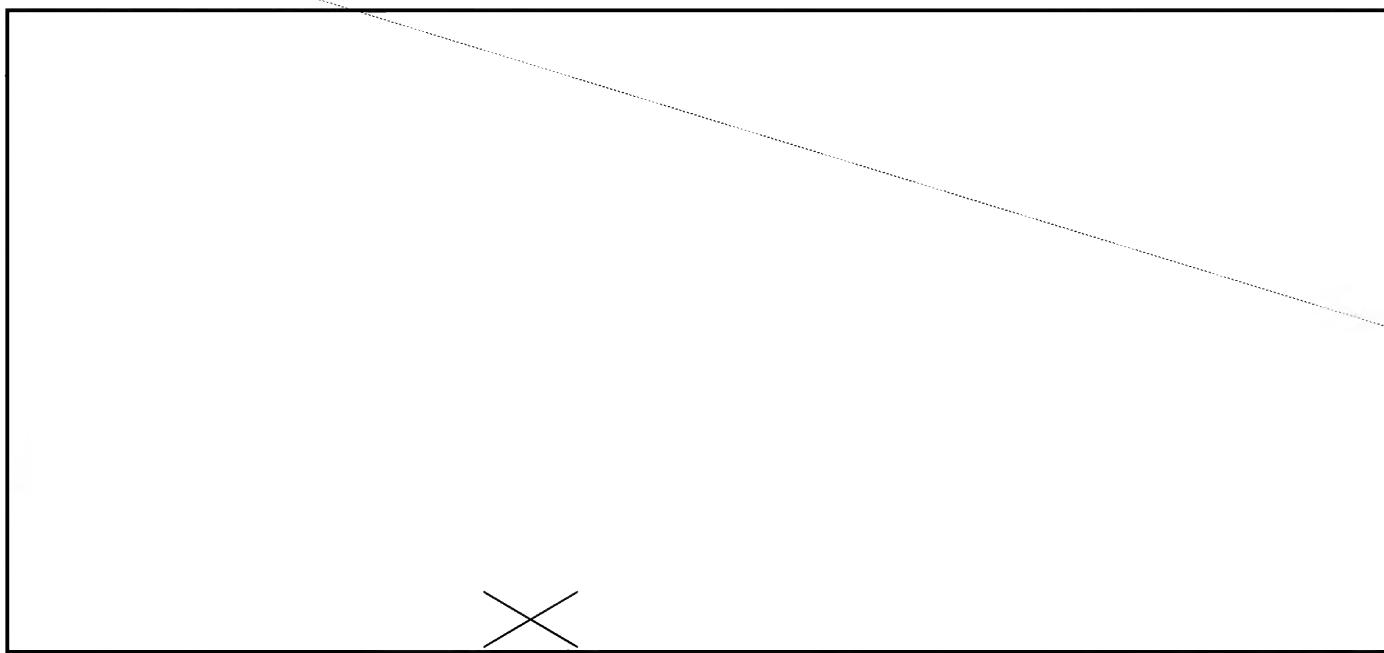
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PAGE TWO



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WA... LRC

FBI WASH DC

10 3 4 7 AM

10 3 4 7

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

MAILED

MAR 7 1966

1 - Name CHECK
1 - b6
b7C

March 3, 1966

X "RAMPARTS MAGAZINE" - Summ 24
Publ. - Or Lip

9-
aff

No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau concerning "Ramparts Magazine." However, this Bureau's files reveal that it is a monthly magazine which has been in publication since 1962, and it has very little standing. It has been characterized as an independent magazine of opinion and dissent. "Ramparts" is published by the Laymen's Press, Menlo Park, California. This Bureau's files contain no pertinent information regarding the Laymen's Press.

(62-104779-106)

Original and 1 - ACSI

WFW:clo 70
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/80 BY [signature]

EX-104

REC- 13

100-445393-2

4 MAR 8 1966

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

69 MAR 17 1966
for

FBI NEW YORK

TELETYPE UNIT

MAR 4 1966

ENCODED MESSAGE

105 AM URGENT 3-4-66 AXS

TO DIRECTOR ---1---, SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES
FROM NEW YORK (157-1300) 3 P

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE IS - C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

RE NY TEL THREE THREE SIXTY SIX.

ON MARCH THREE SIXTY SIX, SA, FBI, OBSERVED A RALLY WHICH
WAS SPONSORED BY RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, THE FIFTH AVENUE PEACE PARADE
(COMMITTEE (FAPP) AND THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF VETERANS FOR
PEACE IN VIETNAM (AHCFPV) AND WHICH WAS HELD AT TOWN HALL, ONE TWO
THREE WEST FORTY THREE STREET, NYC FROM APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TWENTY
FIVE PM TO TEN FORTY FIVE PM APPROXIMATELY FOURTEEN HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS
WERE IN ATTENDANCE. RAMPARTS MAGAZINE IS A LAY CATHOLIC MAGAZINE
WHICH IS PRINTED AT MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA. NO CHARACTERIZATIONS ARE
AVAILABLE FOR THE FAPP AND THE AHCFPV.

THE PURPOSE OF THE RALLY WAS OPPOSITION TO US POLICY IN VIETNAM.

THE LEASE FOR THE RALLY WAS MADE TO RAMPARTS MAGAZINE CARE OF
IRVING BEININ, BUSINESS AND CIRCULATION MANAGER, NATIONAL GUARDIAN (NG)
THE NG WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY IN ONE NINE FORTY
SEVEN AS A PROGRESSIVE WEEKLY. IS DENIES AFFILIATION WITH THE CP, BUT
FROM THE BEGINNING IT HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF AS A VIRTUAL OFFICIAL
PROPAGANDA ARM OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

END OF PAGE ONE

100-44539-
14 MAR 10 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/10/98 BY [Signature]

833 REC-16
500 MAR 10 1966

PAGE TWO

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE RALLY WAS I. F. STONE, A WASHINGTON JOURNALIST, WHO BECAME A MEMBER OF THE CP IN THE MID NINETEEN THIRTIES. SPEAKERS WHO DENOUNCED OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM INCLUDED I. F. STONE, DONALD DUNCAN, FORMER MASTER SERGEANT AND A GREEN BERET, WHO SERVED TEN YEARS IN THE US ARMY, SIX YEARS IN SPECIAL FORCES AND EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN VIETNAM, STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, RAMPARTS CONSULTING EDITOR, AN ECONOMIST, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND FORMER CAMPUS DIRECTOR, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY VIETNAM - ADVISORY GROUP AND SANDRA LEVINSON, A LECTURER AT CITY COLLEGE AND NYC EDITOR RAMPARTS, WHO READ A SPEECH OF JEAN LACOUTURE, STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE FRENCH NEWSPAPER, LE MONDE.

NO CHARACTERIZATION OF LE MONDE AND [REDACTED] ARE AVAILABLE. SHEINBAUM IN HIS REMARKS IN OPPOSING OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM STATED THAT COMPLETE INVESTIGATION ON HIS PART IN CAMBODIA REFLECTED THAT THERE IS NO HO CHI MINH TRAIL ISSUE IN CAMBODIA AND ALSO STATED, END OF PAGE TWO

b6
b7c

PAGE THREE

THAT THE UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD CAMBODIA IS AIMED AT VILATING ITS
NEUTRALITY WITH THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF OCCUPYING AND USING CAMBODIA AS A
STAGING AREA IN A WAR WITH CHINA.

THE ABOVE SA, FBI OBSERVED

AT THE RALLY.

IN ATTENDENCE

b6
b7c

~~NO ARRESTS OR INCIDENTS TOOK PLACE.~~

SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES RESPECTIVELY, IF POSSIBLE, CHARACTERIZE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE AND [REDACTED]

LHM FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

WA EFH

FBI WASH DC

FBI

Date: 3/8/66

~~RECORDED~~

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C

ReNYtel 3/4/66
SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

on 3/3/66 concerning a rally at Town Hall, NYC,
which protested our policy in Viet Nam.

Enclosed are ten copies of an LHM setting forth
activity at the rally.

Copies of the LHM are being disseminated to the 108
INTC Group, ONI, OSI, the Secret Service and the USA, SDNY.

(U) The SA who observed the rally was SA [redacted]
and the source who observed it was [redacted]

The rally was taped by [redacted] (protect
by request) [redacted]
who made available the taping to the NYO.

If the Bureau so desires and advises the NYO,
this taping will be made available to the Bureau.

4 - Bureau (Encls.10) (RM) 100-445003 (AHCVPV) REC 70 100-445393-4
1 - 100-445003 (AHCVPV)

3 - Los Angeles (Encls.3) (RM)

{ 1 - 100- }

{ 1 - 100- }

3 - San Francisco (Encls.3) (RM)

{ 1 - 100- }

{ 1 - 100- }

1 - Washington Field (100-) (I.F. STONE) (Encl.1) (Info) (RM)

1 - New York (100-)

1 - New

NY 157--1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

No lead is being set forth for San Francisco to characterize "Ramparts Magazine" as requested in retel inasmuch as San Francisco by tel 3/4/66 advised the NYO that its characterization is adequate.

Los Angeles as requested in retel will, if possible, characterize

The LHM was classified "Confidential" to protect the identity of the source therein, revelation of which could have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the United States.

No characterizations are available for the FAPPC and the AHCVPV.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

March 8, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

On March 3, 1966, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SA, SFBI) observed a rally which was sponsored by "Ramparts Magazine", the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee (FAPPC) and the Ad Hoc Committee of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam (AHCVPV) and which was held at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City from approximately 8:35 p.m. to 10:45 p.m.

Approximately 1400 people were in attendance at the rally.

The "New York Times", a New York City daily newspaper, in its issue of February 27, 1966, on page 22, Section 1, in an article by Lawrence E. Davies datelined February 26, 1966, at San Francisco, California, concerning "Ramparts Magazine" described it as a Roman Catholic lay magazine which has been in editorial hot water since 1962.

The article stated in part:

"Ramparts, in less than four years, has weathered storms of controversy within the Church including threats of legal action to try to block the publication of articles.

"Its editor in chief and publisher, while disavowing any original intention of making the Catholic hierarchy a target of criticism, commented in an interview: 'The Catholic Church enjoys such a good press now that nobody wants to be unkind to it. So the only people who can be critical are Catholics themselves.'

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

~~OTHERWISE~~

Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-445393-4
MAR 15 1966

1/16/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP. URGENT
REASON-FCIM II
DATE OF REVIEW 3/18/86

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100-445393-4

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Critical articles have not spared church leaders such as Cardinal Spellman of New York, James Francis Cardinal Mc Intyre of Los Angeles, bishops and priests.

"What I am really after 'Mr. Keating asserted, is for the church to practice what it preaches. I would extend that the terms of the whole American tradition-for the country to practice what the Constitution preaches".

The purpose of the rally was opposition to United States policy in Vietnam.

The lease for the rally was made to "Ramparts Magazine" care of Irving Beinin.

~~Irving Beinin~~

~~N.Y.~~
The "National Guardian" (NG) in its issue of March 5, 1966, in its Masthead, described Irving Beinin as being in charge of Business and Circulation.

A characterization of the NG is in the Appendix.

~~The Chairman of the rally was I.F. Stone, a Washington journalist.~~

~~I.F. Stone~~

~~N.Y.~~
On June 26, 1950, a confidential source advised that I.F. Stone became a member of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) in the mid-1930's. The source stated that he secured information substantiating Stone's membership in the CP, USA from such CP, USA functionaries as Israel Amter and Jack Stachel.

(U)

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*7/4
Vietnam*

Speakers who denounced our policy in Vietnam included I.F. Stone; Donald Duncan, Military Editor, "Ramparts Magazine", former Master Sergeant and a Green Beret, who served ten years in the United States Army, six years in its Special Forces and eighteen months in Vietnam; Stanley K. Sheinbaum, Michigan, Consulting Editor, an economist, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and former Campus Director, Michigan State University Vietnam Advisory Group and Sandra Levinson, New York, a lecturer at the City College of New York and New York City Editor, "Ramparts Magazine" who read a speech of Jean Lacoutre, Staff Correspondent of the French newspaper, "Le Monde".
NO LOC

Sheinbaum in his remarks in opposing our policy in Vietnam stated that complete investigation on his part in Cambodia reflected there is no Ho Chi Minh issue in Cambodia, inasmuch as there is no Ho Chi Minh Trail and also stated that the United States policy toward Cambodia is aimed at violating its neutrality with the ultimate goal of occupying and using Cambodia as a staging area in a war with China.

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[redacted] was observed in attendance at the rally.

(U)

On March 4, 1966, a confidential source, 7/4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Donald Duncan, in his talk, stated that he was a former teacher of guerrilla warfare before he went to Vietnam, that he went to Vietnam with enthusiasm, believing that the United States was right in its policy in Vietnam.

He said that after he was there he and other soldiers began to think that the Viet Cong was right and that they were more dedicated than we were.

He stated that when he was discharged from the United States Army, he felt that the National Liberation Front (NLF) had the good will of most of the people of Vietnam.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He said that the United States would have to negotiate with the NLF with the thought of leaving Vietnam.

That the people of the United States must not only protest our policy in Vietnam but they must back candidates at election time who would actively oppose our policy in Vietnam.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS,
SCIENCES, AND PROFESSIONS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions:

"National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1954 on the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, April 26, 1950, originally released April 19, 1949, p. 2.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which is used to appeal to special occupational groups * * *!

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TELETYPE UNIT

MAR 30958

ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Wick	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI NEW YORK

422 PM / URGENT 3-3-66 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /4/

FROM NEW YORK 157-1300 5P

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE: IS-C

RE BUREAU TEL TO NEW YORK MARCH THREE, SIXTYSIX.

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, THE CENTER FOR STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, THIS AM, HELD PRESS CONFERENCE AT HOTEL ALGONQUIN, NEW YORK CITY. REPRESENTED AT CONFERENCE WAS CBS TELEVISION NEWS, ASSOCIATED PRESS, AND FOUR UNIDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE PRESS. CONFERENCE ALSO BY SPECIAL AGENT OF FBI. USING SUITABLE PRETEXT.

SHEINBAUM ADVISED WAS IN SAIGON AND WORKED FOR DIEM GOVERNMENT.
1954
ONE NINE FIVE FOUR TO ONE NINE FIVE NINE SEVEN AS PART OF MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY TEAM TO HELP SET UP GOVERNMENT REC 5 SINCE THAT TIME FOLLOWED
VIETNAM SITUATION CLOSELY. 1960-445393

END PAGE ONE

5 MAR 16 1966

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by ETHM b1a

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/80 BY bci

53 MAR 31 1966 2/15

PAGE TWO

1 9 6 5

IN FALL OF ONE NINE SIX FIVE, BECAME INTERESTED IN UNITED STATES POLICY CONCERNING CAMBODIA, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO HO CHI MINH TRAIL ISSUE AND THE FACT THAT VIETCONG ALLEGEDLY USING CAMBODIA FOR SANCTUARY. IN FEBRUARY, ONE NINE SIX SIX, AFTER RECEIVING PERMISSION FROM CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT TRAVELED THERE WITH WIFE AND ONE ROBERT SCHEER /BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE - ONE ZERO SIX SEVEN TWO ZERO/ OF RAMPARTS MAGAZINE. MADE NUMEROUS RECONNAISSANCE TRIPS TO OBSERVE ALLEGED HO CHI MINH TRAIL VIA PLANE, JEEP AND FOOT. CLAIMS HE COULD DISCERN NO TRAIL GOING IN NORTH, SOUTH DIRECTION WHICH COULD POSSIBLY ACCOMMODATE SUPPLIES. CLAIMS AS A RESULT OF HIS INVESTIGATION HE CAN SAY THERE IS NO HO CHI MINH TRAIL. AT POINTS DESIGNATED BY MAPS IN AMERICAN PRESS AS BEING HO CHI MINH TRAIL, THERE IS UNDERBRUSH AND SOME FOOT PATHS, BUT IT WOULD BE COMPLETELY IMPRACTICABLE AS A SUPPLY LINE.

WHEN ASKED BY A MEMBER OF THE PRESS HOW THE SUPPLIES REACHED VIETCONG, STATED HE FELT MOST CAME BY SEA TO MEKONG DELTA AREA. CLAIMS ROUTE ONE NINE WHICH RUNS EAST AND WEST COULD DEFINITELY NOT BE USED AS A SUPPLY LINE SINCE THE TERRAIN IS SUCH THAT A JEEP COULD NOT GET THROUGH AND IT IS CUT OFF FROM CAMBODIA BY A BLOWN UP BRIDGE. THE BRIDGE IS APPROXIMATELY FIVE MILES SHORT OF CAMBODIA.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ASIDE FROM RECONNAISSANCE TRIPS, SHEINBAUM CLAIMS HE SPOKE TO NUMEROUS CAMBODIANS IN AREA OF ALLEGED HO CHI MINH TRAIL AND ALL DENIED HAVING OBSERVED ANY ACTIVITY OR SUPPLY MOVEMENTS. STATES HE PERSONALLY INTERVIEWED MANY OF THESE INDIVIDUALS WHO SPOKE FRENCH, BUT USED INTERPRETERS FOR OTHERS.

ON RECONNAISSANCE TRIPS AND INTERVIEWS WAS ALWAYS ACCCOMPANIED BY CAMBODIAN CIVIL GOVERNOR OR MILITARY COMMANDER. STATES, HOWEVER, HE PERSONALLY DIRECTED RECONNAISSANCE AND WAS NOT DENIED ACCESS TO ANY AREAS DURING THIS PROJECT. ALSO CLAIMS AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED HIM ON RECONNAISSANCE TRIP AND CONCURRED WITH HIM ON HIS FINDINGS
AFTER HIS STAY IN CAMBODIA AND AFTER CONFERRING WITH CAMBODIAN CABINET
HE FEELS CAMBODIA HAS RECEIVED BAD PRESS IN UNITED STATES AND
ACTUALLY WAS FORCED TO BREAK RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES SINCE
THEY FELT THEY WERE BEING OBLIGATED BY FOREIGN AID.

SHEINBAUM CLAIMS THAT HO CHI MINH TRAIL ISSUE WAS MANUFACTURED BY
THE UNITED STATES TO PREPARE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR A WAR WITH CAMBODIA.
UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED NO ACTUAL EVIDENCE THAT THERE IS SUCH A TRAIL AND NO FORMAL CHARGES HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE UNITED STATES AGAINST CAMBODIA. CLAIMS THERE IS NO REASON WHY UNITED STATES SHOULD BE HOSTILE TO CAMBODIA, ALTHOUGH ADMITTED VIETCONG PROBABLY HAVE BEEN USING CAMBODIA BORDER FOR SANCTUARY. CLAIMS CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONDONE THIS, BUT VERY LITTLE THEY CAN DO. CANNOT DO PERFECTLY
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

EFFICIENT JOB OF POLICING BORDER.

CLAIMS CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FEEL CHINA IS A THREAT TO THEM, BUT THAT THEY ARE AFRAID OF VIETNAM AND THAILAND. THAILAND HAS BEEN HOSTILE TOWARD CAMBODIA FOR YEARS AND HAVE BEEN HAVING BORDER DISPUTES WITH THEM FOR A LONG TIME. CLAIMS THAILAND AND VIETNAM HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF AGGRESSION TOWARD CAMBODIA. THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT MAKES NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM AND WHILE SYMPATHIZES WITH VIETCONG THEY SUPPLY NO AID TO THEM.

ACCORDING TO SHEINBAUM, THERE ARE CURRENTLY FIFTEEN THOUSAND TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THAILAND AND WITHIN EIGHTEEN MONTHS THAILAND WILL BE IN THE WAR. CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT IF THIS IS THE CASE IT WILL BE IN UNITED STATES INTEREST TO SECURE CAMBODIA.

CAMBODIA ALSO CLAIMS THAT THAILAND HAS BEEN AGGRESSIVE IN CAMBODIA INASMUCH AS THEY ARE TRYING TO CLAIM EIGHT CAMBODIAN PROVINCES, WHEN THEY WERE ACTUALLY AWARDED THREE SUCH PROVINCES BY THE FRENCH. CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS UNITED STATES IS ASSISTING THAILAND IN THEIR AGGRESSION BY PROVIDING SUPPLIES.

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

ALSO CLAIMS CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY RENDERING ASSISTANCE TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY PARTICIPATED IN A PLOT TO ASSASSINATE CURRENT CAMBODIAN RULER. CAMBODIA ALSO CLAIMS THERE IS A POLITICAL MOVEMENT WITHIN CAMBODIA TO OVERTHROW CURRENT LEADERSHIP AND THE UNITED STATES IS SUPPORTING IT. CAMBODIA AFRAID OF WAR WITH UNITED STATES, KNOWING CERTAIN THAILAND WILL JOIN AND ARE ALLEGEDLY AFRAID OF CURRENT HOT PURSUIT PROBLEM.

CONCERNING MAP APPEARING IN CURRENT ISSUE OF "LIFE" MAGAZINE, CLAIMS "LIFE" CORRESPONDENT IS GOOD FRIEND AND MAP WAS IN COMPLETE ERROR SINCE IT WAS BASED ON MISINFORMATION.

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED NO EVIDENCE THAT A TRAIL ACTUALLY EXISTS.

NO MENTION WAS MADE OF PREMIER KY.

ALSO ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE WAS MARC STONE OF RAMPARTS, AND DONALD DUNCAN, FORMER ARMY SERGEANT WHO RECENTLY SERVED IN VIETNAM AND HAS MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT AMERICAN ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM.

COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO BY MAIL.

CORR PAGE 2 LAST LINE SHOULD READ "IS APPROXIMATELY FIVE MILES
FROM OF CAMBODIA"

END

JRL

FBI WASH DC

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAU/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

F B I

REC-102

Date: 3/16/66

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC).
 SUBJECT: (o) RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
 IS. - C

Re NY teletype to Bureau dated 3/3/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) concerning a press conference given by STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM in conjunction with Ramparts Magazine, at the Algonquin Hotel, NYC, NY, on 3/3/66.

The Special Agent who attended the press conference was SA [redacted]. Pretext used was that of a reporter for the Herald Tribune newspaper.

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The confidential source used to characterize [redacted] is [redacted]

Copies of this LHM have been distributed locally to Secret Service, 108th Intelligence Group, OSI and ONI.

b6
b7C
b7D

3-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM) ENCLOSURE
 2-San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
 1-New York

WAW:mxm

(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

C.C. WICK

51 MAR 29 1966

REC-102/00-445393-6

AGENCY: ASST. ONI, OSI/SEC. SER.

DATE FORM: 3/16/66, STATE: MAR 17 1966

HOW FORM: R/S

BY: BPAU, (S)

CC: ATX LAM 932 940

7/14/86

CLASS. & EXT. BY SPL/MCR/HJM/STJ

REASON-FCIM II, 3/16/66

DATE OF REVIEW 3/16/86

Sent. M Per

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

March 16, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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DATE 7/14/80 BY *hcc*

X
Ramparts Magazine

On March 3, 1966, Stanley K. Sheinkbaum of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, held a press conference at the Hotel Algonquin, 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York. The conference was held by Mr. Sheinkbaum in conjunction with Ramparts Magazine. Represented at the press conference was CBS Television News, Associated Press and four unidentified publications. Also present at the conference was a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, using a suitable pretext.

Vietnam
Mr. Sheinkbaum advised the following:

He was in Saigon working for the Diem Government from 1954 till 1959 as part of a Michigan State University team to help set up a Government. Since that time he followed the Vietnam situation very closely. In the fall of 1965, he became interested in United States policy concerning Cambodia, especially with regard to the Ho Chi Min Trail issue and the Vietcong's alleged use of Cambodia for sanctuary. In February, 1966, after receiving permission from the Cambodian Government, he travelled there with his wife and Robert Scheer, of Ramparts Magazine. After arriving there, he made numerous reconnaissance trips to observe the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail. These trips were made via plane, jeep and foot. At no time during these reconnaissance trips could he discern any trail going in a north and south direction which could possibly accommodate supplies.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-6

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

Ramparts Magazine

At points designated as the Ho Chi Minh Trail on maps, appearing in the American press, there is underbrush and some foot paths, but the area would be completely impractical for a supply line. He also spoke to numerous Cambodians in the area of the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail and all denied having observed any activity or supply movements. He personally interviewed the French speaking natives of the area, but used interpreters for others. He feels, as a result of his investigation, he can say there is no such thing as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. He further stated that Route 19 which runs East and West could definitely not be used as a supply line, since the terrain is such that a jeep could not get through and it is cut off from Cambodia by a blown up bridge. The bridge is approximately five miles short of Cambodia.

Mr. Sheinkbaum was accompanied on his reconnaissance trips and his interviews by Cambodian civil governors or military commanders. He personally directed the reconnaissance however and was not denied access to any areas during his investigation. He also claims the Australian Ambassador accompanied him several times and he concurred with him in his findings. The Cambodian Government also held a four hour Cabinet meeting for him wherein they expressed their desire for neutrality.

As a result of the aforementioned, Mr. Sheinkbaum feels that the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue has been manufactured by the United States Government to prepare the American people for a war with Cambodia. The United States has provided no actual evidence that there is actually such a trail and no formal charges have been made by the United States against Cambodia. There is no reason why the United States should be hostile toward Cambodia although he admits the Vietcong have probably been using the Cambodia border for sanctuary. He claims the Cambodian Government does not condone this but there is very little they can do since it is impossible to perfectly police the border.

Ramparts Magazine

When asked by a member of the press, exactly how supplies were reaching the Vietcong, he stated that he felt most were coming by sea to the Mekong Delta area.

Mr. Sheintbaum stated that the Cambodian Government does not feel China is a threat to them but they do fear Vietnam and Thailand. They make no distinction between North and South Vietnam and while they sympathize with the Vietcong, they render them no aid. They claim that Thailand has been hostile toward them for years as they have been having border disputes for a long time. Cambodia claims that Thailand has been trying to claim eight Cambodian provinces when they were actually given three such provinces by the French; in so doing they have been committing constant acts of aggression.

They further claim that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been rendering assistance to Thailand to the extent that they participated in a plot to assassinate the current Cambodian ruler. The Cambodian Government feels there is a political movement within their country to overthrow the current leadership and the United States Government is supporting this movement. They are afraid of a war with the United States, knowing certain that Thailand will join. They are also allegedly afraid of the current hot pursuit problem. Along these lines, Mr. Sheintbaum claims there are fifteen thousand United States troops in Thailand and he feels that within eighteen months Thailand will be in the Vietnam struggle. He states that the Cambodian Government feels that if this is the case, it will be in the interest of the United States to secure Cambodia.

Mr. Sheintbaum also referred to a map of Vietnam appearing in a recent edition of "Life" Magazine. He stated that the Ho Chi Minh Trail as depicted on the map was completely erroneous. He spoke to the correspondent responsible for the map; the correspondent had not actually seen the terrain but based the map on photographs and other such information.

Ramparts Magazine

In view of his investigation and the fact that the United States has never offered any evidence that the trail actually exists, Mr. Sheinbaum stated that the map was in complete error.

In attendance at the meeting were Marc Stone of ~~Ramparts Magazine~~ who introduced Mr. Sheintbaum to members of the press, and Donald ~~Duncan~~, former Special Forces master sergeant who has recently returned from Vietnam and made statements about American atrocities there.

n.y.

A confidential source, who has supplied reliable information in the past, advised on January 25, 1966, that ~~[redacted]~~ attended a meeting of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (CSJFMS) on January 9, 1966, at Sobell Committee headquarters, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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A characterization of CSJFMS is attached hereto.

APPENDIX

1.

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE
FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBEL', the ROSENBERGS' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg - Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'..."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 6, 1965, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.

F B I

Date:

3/10/66

REG-47

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68155) (RUC)
 RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
 IS-C
 OO: San Francisco

RE New York teletype to Bureau 3/4/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are an original and seven copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination. Two copies are being furnished to New York and one copy to San Francisco for information.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by the following confidential informants:

(U) Source 1 - [REDACTED] who orally furnished information to SA [REDACTED] at Santa Barbara, California, on 3/9/66.

(U) Source 2 - [REDACTED] (U)

Source 3 - [REDACTED] (documentatio Women's Strike for Peace) and information concerning Discussion Unlimited - 100-63159)

b6
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b7D

1-932 Dsk. 100-445393-7
 3 - Bureau (Encs.-8) (REGISTERED) REC-47
 2 - New York (157-1300) (Encs.-2) (REGISTERED)
 1 - San Francisco (Info.) (Enc.-1) (REGISTERED)
 1 - Los Angeles

GBP:rme/nlb

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI

state, per pers.

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3 MAR 12 1966

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 ESK/11 DATE FORW: 3/10/66
ECON-FUM IT, 1-2/4-2 HOW FORW: [REDACTED]
27 REVIEW 3/10/66 BY: [REDACTED]

ON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03/10/66 BY SP1 ESK/11
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved:

54 APR 1 1966 Spec Agent in Charge

LA 100-68155

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The letterhead memorandum is classified confidential because it contains information which tends to identify confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness.

For the information of the Bureau and interested offices, [redacted] has never been the subject of a Security Matter investigation, Los Angeles Division.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BN/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
March 10, 1966In Reply, Please Refer to
File No."RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The following information was furnished by informants who have furnished reliable information in the past:

On March 9, 1966, source ~~1~~ advised that [redacted]
[redacted] presently resides at [redacted]

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(U) On March 26, 1962, a second source advised that [redacted] was the guest lecturer at a meeting held on March 19, 1962, at the First Unitarian Church (see Appendix), 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California. This meeting was sponsored by Women's Strike for Peace (WSP), [redacted] delivered a lecture on the "Common Market."

(U) A third source, on November 9, 1965, stated that WSP is a peace-oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In addition to its action seeking to

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OTHERWISE~~

1/17/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/MSK/HC
REASON-FOM IT, 1-2-4-2
DATE OF REVIEW 3/10/86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

100-445375 7

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

cause the removal of United States troops from these two countries, WSP has sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

(U)

Source 3, on March 9, 1966, advised that Discussion Unlimited (DU) (see Appendix) is currently circulating a flyer announcing a public meeting to be held on Friday evening, March 18, 1966, in the auditorium of the Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, California, featuring a panel who will discuss the topic "Eye-Witness Reports From Vietnam." One of the speakers is identified in the flyer as Stanley K. Sheinbaum, who "...has just returned from the February, 1966 trip to Vietnam and Cambodia with Scheer (Robert Scheer, Foreign Editor, "Ramparts" magazine). He is the former campus head of the Michigan State University, Vietnam Advisory Group. He tells the story, from intimate personal knowledge, of how the United States got involved in Vietnam. He is an economist in the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara." The DU flyer contained the following paragraph concerning Robert Scheer:

"Robert Scheer has just returned from a February, 1966 trip to Vietnam and Cambodia. He is Foreign Editor of 'Ramparts' magazine and is a candidate for Congress in the Seventh District (Oakland-Berkeley), and is the author of 'Cuba: An American Tragedy,' and the forthcoming 'Vietnam Lobby.'"

(U)

On March 9, 1966, the first source advised [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted] appears to have no sympathy for the Communist Party or communist principles.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 4, 1965, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist front" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 4, 1963, noting its principal site of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "...to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems."

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1962, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in staging panel forums and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was BERNARD LUSHER, who in 1961, was educational director of the Southern California District Communist Party.

This source was recontacted on April 9, 1965, and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited has not changed. It continues to present "left ideas" to at least partially non-committed audiences. It proposes to develop special activities around various issues on an irregular basis. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum type organization.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, Norfolk

3/24/66

Director, FBI

1 - Wells

o
"RAMPARTS"
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(Internal Security)

Enclosed 2/1/66.

The Bureau has not investigated "Ramparts" magazine. During the past year it has carried articles extremely critical of U. S. policy toward Vietnam.

BAW:pah
(4)

pah

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/7/00 BY *hic*

MAILED 4
MAR 23 1966
COMM-FBI

REG-47 100-445373-8

10 MAR 24 1966

7/7/00 —

2

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.
FROM : W. O. Cregar *WOB*
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY
USA

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DFW

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DATE: 7/15/66

CONFIDENTIAL

5-Sheperd *Baumgardner*

Referral/Consult

7-15-66

ACTION:

The above should be directed to the Internal
Security Section for its attention.

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - W. O. Cregar

WOC:kmg *kmg*
(4)

100-322

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Memorandum to Senate
7-19-66

5-Sheperd

~~7/17/80~~
CLASS. & EXT. BY ~~SP1 DS/4/14~~
REASON-FCIM 11, 1-2-4-2
DATE OF REVIEW ~~7/17/80~~

EX-117

REC-27

100-4475393-10

2 JUL 28 1966

100-4475393-

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC:MAN/SLB/DF

RE¹
EX-108

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Memorandum

TO : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

FROM: W. G. Shaw

DATE: 7/19/66

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Memorandum W. O. Cregar to Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. of
7/15/66, in captioned matter noted

Referral/Consult

D.J.
ACTION:

Referral/Consult

100-325

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

REC-2100-475393-1

Craig
 JUL 28 1966

WGS:dmk
(4) dmk

Letter to
San Francisco
7/17/66

WGS:dmk

80 Alameda Street
San Francisco
7/17/66

CLASS. & EXT. SP1/MSK
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2 & B 1/2
DATE OF REVIEW 7/17/66

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (400-68155)

DATE: 8/4/66

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS-C

ReBulet to San Francisco, 7/27/66.

[redacted] the Asia Foundation, 550 Kearney, San Francisco, California, was interviewed on 8/3/66. He advised that he vaguely recalls having read in either the San Francisco Examiner or the Chronicle during the past month to six weeks that one or two individuals whose names were familiar to him were present at a meeting or gathering, location unrecalled, at which a known Communist Party (CP) member was present. [redacted] advised that the article is very vague in his mind and he cannot be sure that the individuals whose names were familiar to him were employees of "RAMPARTS" magazine. He said that it is entirely possible that they were leaders or organizers of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), as in his mind he tends to consider individuals connected with "RAMPARTS" and the VDC in the same vein. [redacted] advised that he could recall nothing further about the article nor could he now recall names of any of these individuals mentioned. J

b6
b7C

In view of the fact that [redacted] cannot furnish any specific information concerning the type of gathering, approximate date or city it took place nor identities and affiliations of those in attendance, it is recommended that no further investigative effort be expended. If any such article as that he referred to had appeared in the public press, it would have been clipped by the San Francisco Office and would have received handling appropriate to its importance.

2 Bureau
2 - San Francisco
FL:cg
(4)

REC-63

400-445393-12

5 AUG 8 1966

51 AUG 12 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/17/00 BY [signature]

INT. SAC:

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

SAC, San Francisco

100-445393-
Director, FBI (100-68155)

7/27/66

1 - [REDACTED] b6
b7C

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Referral/Consult

4/7/80
WGS:dmk (4) done CLASS. & EXT SP1650/10
REASON-FCIN 1 2 4 3 2
DATE OF REVIEW 7/27/66

REC- 103

100-445393-13
19 JUL 27 1966

NOTE:

Referral/Consult

Bufiles contain no identifiable data regarding [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] "Ramparts" magazine is an insignificant opinion magazine
founded in 1962, and published monthly by Catholic Laymen's Press,
Menlo Park, California. The magazine has been very critical of
U.S. policy toward Vietnam.

b6
b7C

MAILED 6

JUL 26 1966
COMM-FBI

AUG 2 1966

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SPECIFIED
BY ANNOTATOR

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Wick ~~4730192~~ DATE: 10-27-66
FROM : M. A. Jones Classified by ~~2903 ROD/ GAT~~
SUBJECT: ~~OPEN 10-27-66
CLASSIFIED BY 10-26-66
10-26-66 9803 ROD/ GAT~~

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Cooper _____
Graham _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & BY SP 10-27-66
REASON FOR 10-27-66
DATE OF REVIEW 10-27-66

BACKGROUND

A newspaper clipping from "The Washington Post" of 10-26-66 headlined "Magazines Attack, Back Warren Report" indicated that Ramparts magazine, in discussing critics of the Warren Commission, focused on at least 10 persons known to have been murdered, to have committed suicide or died in suspicious circumstances since the Kennedy assassination.

DECLASSIFIED BY ~~5685 D/ GAT~~
ON 12/19/96 (JFK)

The Director asked, "What do we know of

INFORMATION FROM BUFILES:

Ramparts Magazine and

Bufiles indicate a letter dated 7-5-66 from the Central Intelligence Agency which briefly describes Ramparts magazine as a monthly publication with a circulation claimed to be 65,000. The Editor-in-Chief, Edward M. Keating, claimed the publication was created to offer a platform for Catholic writers. In February, 1966, total financial backing was approximately \$100,000. It is operated, in addition to the Board of Directors, by a 58 member staff.

BUFILE *Unclassified per CIA letter 9/23/88*
Bufiles describe [redacted] as a white male, born [redacted]

He is single [redacted]

He lists his occupation as [redacted]

[redacted] came to the Bureau's attention in July, 1964, when he alleged that he and [redacted] had been beaten at Philadelphia, Mississippi, on 7-14-64. [redacted] explained that he was preparing a story on the disappearance of three civil rights workers and [redacted] was accompanying him. He

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. DeLoach

ENCLOSURE

REC T

100-445293-74
NOV 8 1966
01 15 15 K STATE

RECEIVED NOV 18 1966

NOV 8 1966

SECRET

OVER

ENCL

Jones to Wick Memo

RE: [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

stated that after spending the morning in Philadelphia, Mississippi, he and [REDACTED] were attacked by several white males in the afternoon and he was punched in the eye. [REDACTED] was struck with a chain according to [REDACTED] talked briefly with law enforcement officers and then hastily left town.

[REDACTED] came to the attention of the Bureau in a "New York Herald Tribune" article dated 8-7-64 in connection with the three civil rights workers who were slain at Philadelphia, Mississippi. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] again came to the Bureau's attention on 9-3-64 when he was interviewed by the Memphis Division in connection with a civil rights complaint wherein he advised that while traveling near Durant, Mississippi, on 8-31-64 in his car the left front vent of his car was shattered by some object. A garage attendant where he stopped suggested the vent had been shattered by a rifle missile possibly of .22 caliber. [REDACTED] stated it was then that he first came to realize that someone had probably shot at him.

[REDACTED] explained that he had been in the State of Mississippi for approximately three months previously in connection with the Mississippi summer project and had been living in Jackson. He stated that he frequently traveled with both local Negroes and white Council of Federated Organizations workers. [REDACTED] went into great detail regarding his actions prior to and after the above-mentioned incident, but he could not furnish any specific details as to who might have shot at him.

[REDACTED] is again mentioned in Bufiles in connection with the Philadelphia, Mississippi, murders in connection with a magazine entitled "Mississippi Eyewitness" published by Ramparts magazine. The first-mentioned magazine contained several articles concerning Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney and one of them was written by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] once again came to the Bureau's attention in December, 1965, at which time a confidential informant advised that [REDACTED] a visa for one month had been requested by [REDACTED] Ramparts magazine. It was stated that [REDACTED]

A representative of the U. S. Department of State advised in December, 1965, that the New York Passport Office was authorized on 12-1-65 to validate the passport of [REDACTED] for one round trip to Cuba with no time limit. (u) Per State letter 2/2/84

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b7C
b7D
b7E

~~SECRET~~
OVER

Jones to Wick Memo

RE: [REDACTED]

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

Further checks indicated [REDACTED] had obtained a passport in December, 1959, at Seoul, Korea, restricted against travel to Albania, Hungary and those portions of China, Korea and Viet Nam under communist control. He stated at that time that his travel plans were indefinite. *(u) Per Ottate letter 2/21/84*

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

*JS W/BS V SMC
JS*

~~SECRET~~

Magazines Attack, Back Warren Report

Articles in two current magazines take up the theory that a conspiracy was behind the assassination of President Kennedy, one supporting such speculation and another undercutting it.

While exploring some territory gone over earlier by other critics of the Warren Commission, Ramparts magazine focuses on the "at least 10" persons known to have been murdered, to have committed suicide, or died in suspicious circumstances since the Kennedy assassination.

The accounts of the deaths are principally the work of Penn Jones Jr., editor of the Midlothian (Texas) Mirror.

At a news conference yesterday, Jones emphasized his belief that Lee Harvey Oswald was a "patsy" for an unidentified actual killer or killers, and their co-conspirators. They, Jones reasoned, would have relied neither upon Oswald's "poor marksmanship" nor upon his rifle, which was of inferior design and defective to boot.

Also at the news conference was David Welsh, a Ramparts news editor, who wrote an accompanying piece in the magazine detailing investigations carried on by members of the Ramparts' staff and others, in connection with the deaths.

It is the very defectiveness of the rifle that helped to persuade Dr. John K. Lattimer, a student of the medical aspects of presidential assassinations, that it was Oswald, and Oswald alone, who killed the President. Writing in the Oct. 24 Journal of the American Medical Association, the Columbia University urologist said:

"President Kennedy apparently sustained his second and fatal bullet wound in the back of the right side of his head, only because of a pair of unusual coincidences."

The first was that the telescopic sight of Oswald's rifle was aimed defectively so that the bullets struck approximately 4 inches to the right of the aiming point and a little high.

"Coincidentally, however, the presidential automobile was following a course which curved to the right just enough to compensate for this error in the telescope."

The second coincidence lay in the fact that President Kennedy was wearing not only a rigid metal and canvas back brace, but he had further reinforced its rigid support for the lower portion of his body by binding the brace to himself with an elastic knit bandage.

The first bullet inflicted a mortal wound in the soft tissues of the neck. As a result of the unusual rigidity of his body, his torso did not crumple or topple over out of sight.

Instead, his stiffened body merely tilted slightly sideways, leaving the back of his head exposed to Oswald's rifle with its telescopic sight.

Here are summaries from the Ramparts accounts of the deaths of some of the persons who had "crucial scraps of knowledge" and who "died mysteriously":

Jim Kothe, a young Dallas reporter, was apparently killed in his apartment by a "karate chop" to the neck. Robbery was the indicated motive, but his notes for an intended book on the assassination also were missing. Larry Earl Reno, 22, a former convict, was arrested but District Attorney Henry Wade secretly instructed the grand jurors not to indict and they did not.

Bill Hunter was a Long Beach, Calif., reporter who covered the assassination and was killed April 23, 1964. He had been seated at his desk in the press room of the Long Beach public safety building when Detective Creighton Wiggins Jr. burst into the room. A single bullet from Wiggins struck Hunter in the heart. Wiggins' story underwent several changes. His final version was that he and his partner had been playing cops and robbers with guns drawn when his gun started to slip from his hand and went off.

In eight other deaths, Ramparts questions official explanations including heart attacks, a suicide by hanging, a throat-slitting in front of a broken plate-glass window, and auto accidents.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wheeler
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Bosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/1/80 BY SP1/Mo/ST

ENCLOSURE

REC 1

160-145393-14

The Washington Post and

Times Herald

NOV 7 1966 The Washington Daily News

The Washington Evening Star

New York Daily News

New York Herald Tribune

New York Post

The New York Times

New York World Journal

New York World

Journal Tribune

The Baltimore Sun

The Worker

The New Leader

The Wall Street Journal

The National Observer

People's World

Date

NOV 8 1966

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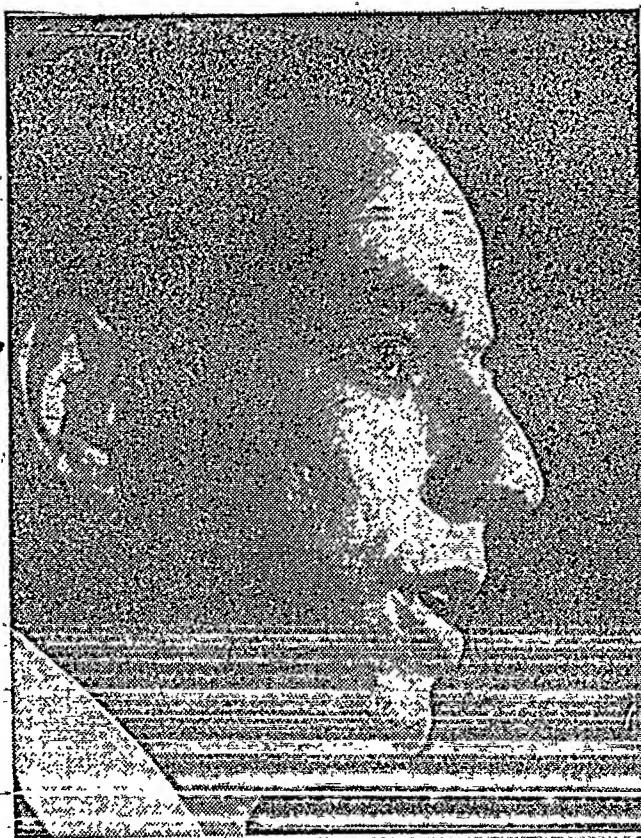
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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF



Staff Photos by Wally Blackman

DAVID WELSH

A news editor of Ramparts Magazine

PENN JONES JR.

Editor of the Midlothian, Texas, Mirror

magazine supports Texas editor's claim that Kennedy assassination was never investigated thoroughly

What do we know of



X

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b7C

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Jefco

2 Editors Ask Reopening Of Assassination Probe

The editor of a small-town Texas newspaper and a magazine editor joined today in calling on Congress to reopen the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Penn Jones Jr., editor of the Midlothian (Tex.) Mirror, and David Welsh of Ramparts Magazine issued the call at a press conference here.

The press session was in connection with an article in the current issue of Ramparts that says at least 10 persons connected in some way to events related to the assassination have since met what the story calls violent or bizarre deaths. The editors also said a large number of potential witnesses have been intimidated into silence.

Kilgallen, I...

Welsh's article lists 10 persons he believes are connected with the 10 men who have died. One is Dorothy Kilgallen.

Kilgallen, who died in November 1953, had interviewed Ruby. She is reported by the author to have said during the last days of her life: "In five more days, I'm going to bust this case wide open."

The other nine include those of two

Tom Howard, who was briefly Ruby's lawyer, Earlene Roberts, who managed Lee Harvey Oswald's rooming house.

Newsmen asked Jones and Welsh why the "mysterious deaths" were limited to these 10, while Jack Ruby, Marina Oswald and others much closer to the assassination events are still alive.

Welsh and Jones countered by saying that Dallas is impregnated with violence, so they ought to be more competent, and that the investigation has been "tailed."

Cons. by Seen

Jones said he thinks there were two riflemen involved in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, but he said he had no final evidence.

"They're still working on the assassination of Lincoln," said Dorothy Kilgallen.

Welsh added that most Dallas newspapers that covered the case have moved on to other jobs and that a third of the evidence in the assassination is being withheld. He blamed FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for suppression of most of the documents.

Open

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wichita _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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DATE 9/25/84 BY SP1/Mac/pt

REC 1

100-445393-15

6 NOV 7 1966

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-109060-105-395874-1

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Washington Evening Star
New York Daily News FINAL
New York Herald Tribune
New York Post
The New York Times
New York World Journal
New York World
Journal Tribune
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

She is a liar

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/18/80 BY SP1

3 NOV 18 1966
1966

PERS EOC UNIT

OCT 25 1966

December 29, 1966

REC-74 100-445393-16

108



Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of December 24th.

Although I would like to be of assistance, information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy.

DEC 29 1966
FBI - BOSTON
b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/08 BY SP7/Mar/gjt

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent, Ainmiller Strasse or Committee of Responsibility. Ramparts Magazine, Inc. accused the Director of suppressing most of the documents in the investigation of the assassination of former President Kennedy. [redacted]

BGH:emm
(3) [initials]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

70 JAN 12 1967
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/01 BY SP7/Mar/gjt

12/29
9-1
~~9-1~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25,
District of Columbia

24 December 1966

Gentlemen:

I am considering becoming involved in a project designed to bring Vietnamese children who have suffered severe burns due to the conflict in Vietnam to the United States for treatment and rehabilitation.

Prior to my involvement, I should like to know whether or not your office has information indicating that the following organizations or personnel associated with them are in anyway connected with agents or agencies of a domestic or foreign nature with intent to overthrow the government of the United States, or have been involved in any crime that may indicate that their project is other than one of a purely humanitarian nature.

THE COMMITTEE OF RESPONSIBILITY
Box 424
Scarsdale, New York 10583

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INC.
301 Broadway
San Francisco, California

10 Sheridan Square
New York 14
New York

Ainmiller Strasse
1/III 8 Munchen 13
Germany

MCT-8

REG-14

18 DEC 30 1966

EX-100

RAMPARTS

YN

Thanking you for your assistance, I remain

Yours sincerely:



mml
ach
12/29/66
BGH:em

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/89 BY SP-1/Mab

FOIPP 249270

b6
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-0)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C

DATE: 1/4/67

On 12/22/66, [redacted]

[redacted] made available the front page of the publication called "Ramparts Magazine", (published in San Francisco). He stated that in connection with his current employment he is a subscriber to the magazine. He stated that recently he received leaflets and propaganda from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Suite 1103, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, New York. He stated that he has an unlisted telephone number and was curious as to how the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell had secured his mailing address. He stated upon examining the address label on "Ramparts Magazine" and that on the literature received from the Sobell Committee, it was noted that both address labels contained almost identical mailing and subscription information. Further, his zip code number was identically erroneous on both labels. He stated it was obvious that the Sobell Committee had apparently secured a mailing list from "Ramparts Magazine".

This is furnished merely for information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/1/25 BY SP7/McCaff

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/1/80 BY SP7/McCaff

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM) *RES 13*
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - Detroit
IRA/cc
(5)

100-445393 17

15 JAN 6 1967

PERS. REC. INT'L

1 PC XEROX

JAN 25 1967

JAN 2, 1967 393

Recorded -
File - 387835
Date - 1/25/67

INT'L SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-103-01

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January 12, 1967

EX-103

100-445393-18

REC 30

Honorable Edward J. Meyers, Jr.
Judge
Whitley Circuit Court
62nd Indiana Judicial Circuit
Columbia City, Indiana 46725

DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7/MAC/

My dear Judge:

Your letter of January 5th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, I have instructed a representative of our Indianapolis Office to contact you and discuss your question with you.

MAILED 2
JAN 12 1967
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

3
1 - Indianapolis (Sent with airtel to Indianapolis, same date)

RJW
NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. "Ramparts" magazine published an article in its May, 1965, issue by Fred J. Cook which was highly critical of the Bureau and Mr. Hoover. This magazine is described in Bufiles as a monthly publication created to offer a platform for Catholic writers.

The magazine has been critical of the war in Vietnam and the results of the Warren Commission in its investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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62 JAN 201967 JBT:PF (4) *mf*
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/00 BY SP7/MAC/

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b7C

EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
JUDGE, WHITLEY CIRCUIT COURT
82ND INDIANA JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
COLUMBIA CITY, INDIANA 46725

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 219
244-6031

January 5, 1966

law
9-

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Out of curiosity I subscribed for a few months to the magazine "Ramparts." I find it to be a most questionable publication. Can you tell me whether it is considered to be subversive by your department or anything else about it.

Yours very truly,


EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
JUDGE, WHITLEY CIRCUIT COURT.

EJM/f

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP-1/MC/SP

REC 30

100-1445393-18
EX-103

15 JAN 13 1967

1-12-67 JBT: jlf
aritel to Judge
Ack! 1-12-67
JBT: jlf

OR
CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE 02-08-2011

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS-C

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)

DATE: 1/13/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination concerning a press conference held by Ramparts Magazine on 12/22/66.

b1

(S) The source referred to in the LHM is [redacted] who was contacted on 12/23/66.

The LHM is not being classified in view of the public nature of the press conference and the fact that the information furnished was made available to approximately 40 members of the press. It is noted that [redacted] is the subject of Bufile 100-371447, NYfile 100-80523. He is a former member of the Communist Party and [redacted] for the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

b6
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[redacted] is the subject of NYfile 100-159226.

Copies of the handouts, mentioned in the LHM, will be maintained in the 1A Section of NYfile 167-1300.

1 fm.

JAN 31 1967

3-Bureau (Enclos. 800 PM)
(1- 105-129821) [redacted]

1-San Francisco (Enc1. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1-New York (157-1300)
1-New York (100-80523)
1-New York (100-159226)

MVD:dam
(8)

INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

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b6
b7C
b7D

AGENCY: G-2, OTHERWISE

RAO (VS) State - CIA

DATE FORW: 1-17-67

HOW FORW: RS

BY: SW:mem

61 FEB 7 1967

RECORDED 9520 St.

~~SECRET~~
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/25/87 BY SP-1114-1~~

New York, New York

January 13, 1967

Ramparts Magazine

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/10 BY kci~~

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On December 23, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information concerning a press conference held by Ramparts Magazine at the World Church Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, on December 22, 1966.

Ramparts Magazine is a lay Catholic magazine with offices in San Francisco, California.

Source stated that the purpose of the press conference was to publicize an article by William F. Pepper, entitled "The Children of Vietnam." This article appears in the January, 1967, issue of Ramparts. Source stated that the conference had been announced by Marc Stone, New York representative of Ramparts, in a letter to various press associations.

Source stated that the conference was attended by some 40 correspondents, including representatives of the ABC Television Network. Marc Stone, Warren Hinkle III, editor of Ramparts, Dr. Benjamin Spock, a medical doctor famed for his books on child care, and William Pepper, author of the article, were present on behalf of Ramparts.

The stated purpose of the conference was to make public an appeal by Ramparts Magazine to the United Nations Children's Fund to investigate conditions surrounding the wounding and killing of children in Vietnam as an outgrowth of the Vietnamese war. A copy of a letter from Warren Hinkle III, editor of Ramparts, to Mr. Henry Labouisse, Director, United Nations Children's Fund, was distributed to the press. In this letter Hinkle drew the attention of Labouisse to the article and suggested that the condition of the wounded children in Vietnam be investigated by the United Nations Children's Fund.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-44651393-19

Ramparts Magazine

Source stated that Pepper, who gave his age as 29, addressed the group. He described himself as a humanitarian and stated that he had travelled to Vietnam as a free-lance journalist. He said that he had returned to the United States in May, 1966. He remarked that he had become acquainted with Ramparts sometime after the trip when he finally decided to publish his impressions and findings. He added that he is studying for his PhD in Political Science at the "New School" (probably the New School for Social Research in New York City).

Source said that Pepper did not express any extreme comments about the Vietnamese war per se but that he confined his remarks to the scope of his article about the children of Vietnam.

Source added that Pepper seemed annoyed when he was asked by an Associated Press (AP) correspondent how he had gotten to Vietnam, whether he was a regular correspondent for Ramparts and why he had chosen Ramparts to publish his article. Source stated that his answers to these inquiries started out as vague remarks about "free-lancing" and "a desire to see things for himself." Source stated that he seemed vexed and dropped the subject of his relationship with Ramparts Magazine upon receiving a note which Marc Stone had hastily written and passed to him.

Source stated that he got the impression that Stone and Hingle, who was silent throughout the conference, were rather tense about what Pepper might say concerning Ramparts.

Canada
Source stated that Pepper was again challenged by an AP correspondent when he stated that most of the statistics used by him in the article were obtained from Hugh Campbell, whom he described as a Canadian who had worked with the International Armistice Commission. According to source, the AP correspondent stated that he had phoned

Ramparts Magazine

Campbell that morning and had been told that he had never given or obtained any such statistics (about deaths and injuries in Vietnam). Pepper's reply to this was that "Campbell was backing out."

Source said that Pepper was saved from further embarrassment by a foreign correspondent who stated that it was futile to discuss the exact number of children in Vietnam. Source stated that Pepper seemed grateful for this statement and used the opportunity to launch into a humanitarian speech.

Source said that Dr. Spock, who had written the introduction to Pepper's article in Ramparts, made a short statement of accusation against "the crocodile tears of the State Department" and the war in Vietnam "that is morally wrong." Source stated that the conference ended with Marc Stone distributing pictures of injured Vietnamese children to whomever wanted them.

Source stated that printed material was distributed to the press at the conference. This material included:

1- A reprint of the Ramparts article entitled "The Children of Vietnam."

2- A press release bearing the name Ramparts and marked for release 11:00 a.m., Thursday, December 22, 1966, with the headline "Study Shows 250,000 South Vietnamese Children Killed in War, Thousands More Dying Without Treatment - United Nations Children's Fund Asked to Investigate." This release stated in part that Ramparts appealed to the United Nations Children's Fund to investigate Mr. Pepper's charges about the effect of American bombing and revealed that a group of prominent American doctors and other concerned citizens are organizing to transport napalm-burned Vietnamese children to the United States and care for them in United States medical facilities. The release described Pepper as

Ramparts Magazine

a political scientist, Executive Director of the New Rochelle, New York, Commission on Human Rights and a faculty member of Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry, New York.

3- A document entitled "Resolution on the Vietnam War." This resolution, according to its contents, was adopted unanimously by the Advisory Committee of the Christian Peace Conference (ACCPC) in Sofia, Bulgaria, October, 1966.

4- A letter to Christians in the United States and its allies from the ACCPC.

5- A message from the Secretary General (of the UN) to Lord Brockway, Chairman, British Council for Peace in Vietnam, dated November 11, 1966.

6- A paper entitled "Resolutions on China by Churches." This document contains quotations from resolutions and statements by various church groups which advocate the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

7- A copy of the remarks made by William F. Pepper to the press during the conference.

F B I

Date: 1/20/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (94-367) (RUC)JUDGE EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)F N D.~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/12/07 BY SP-7 Mac/pt~~

Re Bureau airtel 1/12/67.

Judge EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR., Whitley Circuit Court,
Columbia City, Indiana, contacted 1/19/67, by SA [redacted]
[redacted] in accordance with referenced airtel.b6
b7C

Judge MEYERS said he realized shortly after sending his letter the FBI could not comment as to whether the "Ramparts" magazine was subversive. The public source material provided the Indianapolis Office was utilized in answering Judge MEYERS' inquiry. He said he was concerned with the content of the "Ramparts" publication and this motivated his writing. He expressed satisfaction and gratitude for the thoughtfulness of the FBI in responding to his inquiry.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/19/00 BY SP-7 Mac/pt~~3 - Bureau
1 - IndianapolisMLA/pap
(4)

C. C. WICH

100-445393-20

JAN 23 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

JAN 23 1967

JAN

Approved:

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

1-12-67

Airtel

To: SAC, Indianapolis

From: Director, FBI

JUDGE EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)

BUDED 1-23-67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-12-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

WD
Enclosed are two copies of Judge Meyers' letter to me and my reply to him, together with public source information available on the magazine "Ramparts" which will aid in answering his inquiry.

You should instruct a Special Agent from your office to contact Judge Meyers and advise him of this information as an answer to his questions. All answers should be based on available public source information.

"Ramparts" magazine published an article in its May, 1965, issue by Fred J. Cook which was highly critical of the Bureau and of me. This magazine is described in Eufile as a monthly publication created to offer a platform for Catholic writers.

The magazine has been critical of the war in Vietnam and of the results of the Warren Commission in its investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Enclosures (6)

Article from "Time" magazine 1-6-67 entitled "A Bomb in Every Issue"

Article from Washington Post & Times Herald 10-26-66 entitled "Magazines Attack Back Warren Report."

Newspaper clipping from The Washington Evening Star 10-25-66 entitled "2 Editors Ask Reopening of Assassination Probe."

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NOTE: Enclosure from "Time" magazine was obtained from information available in Bureau reference library.

JBT:rif (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *for*

FROM : D. J. Brennah, Jr. *for*

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS

DATE: 1/31/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This is the West Coast publication whose articles have been strongly left-wing and which have included strong criticism of the Bureau.

for C. J. Brennah
Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(7)

REC-75

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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2/14/67 REC SAC, SF
FEB 15 1967

53 FEB 17 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: "MINUTEMEN"

INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

BACKGROUND:

San Francisco furnished an article captioned "The Minutemen, The Spirit of '66," which appeared in the January, 1967, edition of "Ramparts" magazine.

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine with editorial offices at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It was founded by Edward M. Keating, a Catholic layman, in 1962 and has contained criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church of America. "Ramparts" has expanded its criticism of organized religion to provide a commentary on politics and sociological conditions. It contains a news and editorial policy which is anti-establishment, anti-United States big business and anti-United States policy in Vietnam.

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This article was written by William W. Turner.

REVIEW OF THE ARTICLE:

In the article Turner furnishes the history of the Minutemen organization and comments concerning the different individuals associated with this group. His article stresses the strength and the apparent danger of the Minutemen organization to the security of the U. S. He writes about the

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CONTINUED - OVER

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NOT RECORDED

145 JAN 27 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: "MINUTEMEN"
62-107261

leader of the Minutemen organization, Robert B. DePugh. Turner states that the Minutemen organization makes the Communist Party "look like a ladies' kaffee klatsch" but that their potential danger is not realized by the FBI.

OBSERVATIONS:

Due to Turner's attitude toward the Bureau, it would be useless to contact him to set him straight. "Ramparts" magazine has been critical of the Bureau and thrives on articles of a sensational nature. Any contact with its representatives would undoubtedly be used by it to obtain publicity. Therefore, it is felt that no contact should be made with such representatives. No further action is necessary as this article merely represents another of Turner's attempts to smear the Bureau.

ACTION:

None. For information.

JK

~~SECRET~~

February 15, 1967

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

In accordance with your request, there is
enclosed data concerning a certain magazine which may be
of interest to Mr. Bromley Smith.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct) - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct) - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Rosen (sent direct) - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent direct) - Enclosure

REC-9

NOTE: Mr. Marvin Watson has requested that the data pertaining
to "Ramparts" magazine be furnished in a blind memorandum.

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DATE OF REVIEW 2/1/81

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Delivered to Mildred Stegall
on 16/1/81
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10 FEB 20 1967

February 15, 1967

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"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

~~7/1/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP14507/1
REASON-FCIM II, 1-8-4-a
DATE OF REVIEW 2/15/87~~

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine which has been in publication since 1962. Although extremely controversial in its views, it has very little standing in the publishing world. It is published at Menlo Park, California, and Mr. Edward Michael Keating is the Editor in Chief. This magazine has been self-described as "the Catholic journal of independent opinion" but, has no official ties with the Catholic Church.

Mr. Keating has been an outspoken critic of the FBI, frequently making baseless charges or allegations concerning the work of that Bureau. In October, 1964, he publicly indicated he was willing to turn over to the Justice Department information he had obtained concerning the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. Upon being contacted, he stated he had never been in Mississippi, and that he had not personally obtained any evidence concerning that crime.

It was reported in July, 1965, that Mr. Keating was interested in traveling to Cuba for the alleged purpose of gathering information on religious life in that country. It was also noted at that time, that he hoped to have an interview with Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It is not known whether Mr. Keating did actually travel to Cuba.

R *100-445393-7-3*
More recently, Mr. Keating has frequently criticized U. S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam, making a number of speeches throughout the country in this regard.

2-2
Robert Scheer, who was born on [redacted] in New York City, is employed as Foreign Editor of "Ramparts" and is also a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for U. S. Congressman from the 7th Congressional District of California.

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1 - Mr. DeLoach - (sent with cover letter)
1 - Mr. Gale - (sent with cover letter)
1 - Mr. Rosen - (sent with cover letter)
1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent with cover letter)

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"Ramparts" magazine

~~SECRET~~

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The "San Francisco Examiner," San Francisco, California, reported on May 23, 1965, that Robert Scheer visited Cuba in "defiance" of the U. S. State Department during the Summer of 1964. More recently Mr. Scheer has been extremely active in denouncing U. S. policy toward Vietnam at demonstrations sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC). The VDC is self-described as a group of students, faculty and other members of the Bay area community opposed to American intervention in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and wherever else it may occur. (100-445393)

The March 4, 1966, issue of "The Daily Californian" reported Scheer's visit to Cambodia. It was reported that he had been sent there by "Ramparts" magazine and was alleged to have stated that Cambodia was not being used in any significant way by the Viet Cong in its war with the Vietnamese.

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(105-106720) ~~(X)~~

(U) Stanley K. Sheinbaum, an economist at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and former Campus Director, Michigan State University, Vietnam Advisory Group, is a Consulting Editor of "Ramparts."

~~SECRET~~

"Ramparts" magazine

~~SECRET~~

He [redacted]

[redacted] is known as an outspoken critic of U. S. policy in Vietnam. Recently, he made a trip to Southeast Asia for "Ramparts" for the purpose of finding out what is going on there since he is reported to have said, "I can't get the information from the American press." (100-445310-109, p 2 & 3)

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[redacted]
[redacted] In criticizing United States Vietnam policies, Sheinbaum is alleged to have been a speaker at several protest meetings on Vietnam policy held in California during May and November, 1965, and in March, 1966. (100-439977-22)

In connection with his trip to Southeast Asia, Sheinbaum held a press conference at New York City on March 3, 1966, at which time he stated he had made numerous reconnaissance trips along the Cambodian border in an attempt to substantiate the allegations that the Viet Cong are using the Ho Chi Minh Trail to supply their forces in South Vietnam. As a result of his investigation, he has stated that he is convinced there is no such route and that the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue was "manufactured by the United States to prepare the American people for a war with Cambodia." During this press conference, he is also alleged to have stated that a map appearing in a recent issue of "Life" magazine which purports to show the Ho Chi Minh Trail is in complete error as it is based on misinformation. (100-445393-6)

According to information received, [redacted]
[redacted] was invited to attend Sheinbaum's press conference. (105-138315-2578) ~~(U)~~

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The name Stanley Sheinbaum appeared on a leaflet distributed by the November 8 Mobilization Committee during October, 1966, protesting the United States role in the war in Vietnam. According to information developed, this organization has conducted frequent protest demonstrations. (105-138315-4254)

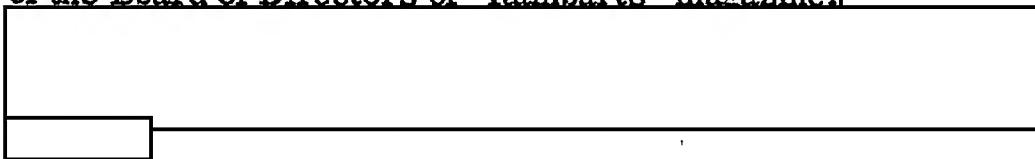
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"Ramparts" magazine

~~SECRET~~

G. M. Feigen is reportedly listed as a member of the Board of Directors of "Ramparts" magazine. One Dr. Gerald Mason Feigen, a Proctologist in San Francisco, California, who was born on December 28, 1912, in Paterson, New Jersey, reportedly received a medical discharge in 1943 from the United States Army Medical Corps when he was declared unfit for general service when the medical board found him to have "hallucinatory experiences," most of which had a sexual background, that is, desires and thoughts for abnormal sexual relationships. This condition was not judged service connected inasmuch as he had been receiving treatment for it prior to his entrance into the United States Army in June, 1941.

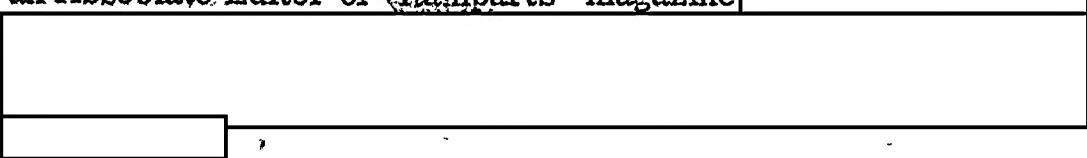
Joseph Ippolito is reportedly listed as a member of the Board of Directors of "Ramparts" magazine.



Robert McAfee Brown is reportedly listed as an Associate Editor of "Ramparts" magazine. He is alleged to have signed an editorial which appeared in the June, 1965, issue of "Christianity in Crisis" assailing United States policy and military action in Vietnam. He is also alleged in 1964 to have been one of the sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. That organization has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as communist inspired and as numbering communists among its national leaders. He is reportedly a professor of Religion at Stanford University.

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Jessica Mitford Treuhaft is reportedly listed as an Associate Editor of "Ramparts" magazine.



~~SECRET~~

"Ramparts" magazine

~~SECRET~~

Donald Duncan is reportedly listed as a Contributing Editor to "Ramparts" magazine. [redacted]

Thomas Bransten is reportedly listed as a Contributing Editor to "Ramparts" magazine. [redacted]

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According to information received, he is the Paris editor of "Ramparts" and had been a reporter for the Paris edition of the "New York Herald Tribune."

Saul Landau is reportedly listed as a Staff Writer for "Ramparts" magazine. [redacted]

[redacted] he has made various appearances throughout the United States lecturing in defense of Castro and criticizing the United States Government for trade restrictions imposed against Cuba. [redacted]

(105-445393-9)

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~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Wick

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/Dolson
ON 02-08-2011
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

DATE: 2-16-67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/04 BY SP-1/MC/CS/

CLASSIFIED BY:
DECLASSIFIED BY: OADR

Pursuant to the Director's request, the following is a resume drawn from Bureau files of captioned magazine.

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine which has been published since 1962 and is extremely controversial. It is published at Menlo Park, California, and Mr. Edward Michael Keating is the Editor in Chief. This magazine has been self-described as "the Catholic journal of independent opinion" but has no official ties with the Catholic Church.

Keating has been an outspoken critic of the FBI, frequently making baseless charges or allegations concerning the work of the Bureau. In 1964 he falsely indicated he had information concerning the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. He has recently criticized United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam.

Among others reportedly connected with the magazine is Robert Scheer, Foreign Editor, who was a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for United States Congressman from the 7th Congressional District of California.

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He has recently been active in denouncing United States policy toward Vietnam and supposedly visited Cambodia last year.

REC-D-MICK

100-445393-24

E B I REC-50

3M FEB 21 1967

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

TDH:ksf
(6)

50 MAR 8 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/18/04 BY SP-1/MC/CS/

CRIMINAL PRACTICE
PERS. PRACTICE UNIT
2/2/04

M. A. Jones to Wick Memo
RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Stanley K. Sheinbaum, Consulting Editor, is another outspoken critic of United States policy in Vietnam and has been a speaker at several "protest meetings" in California during 1965 and 1966.

Among the reported Board of Directors of "Ramparts" are G. M. Feigen and Joseph Ippolito.

Robert McAfee Brown, allegedly one of the sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as communist inspired) and Jessica Mitford Treuhaft,

are Associate Editors.

Donald Duncan, who opposes United States military efforts in Vietnam, and Thomas Bransten, are Contributing Editors.

Saul Landau, a Staff Writer, has been a long-time supporter of the Castro government and his wife, Nina Serrano Landau,

William W. Turner

is also a writer for this magazine.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For the Director's information.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : D. J. Brennan

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

CLASS: 1-2-4-2
REASON: 11, 1-2, 4, 2
DATE OF REVIEW: 3/14/67

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60724 UC/BAW/SAB/JDF

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
DATE: 2/16/67
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - R. D. Cotter
1 - R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

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Holmes _____
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CONFIDENTIAL

DO NOT FORWARD

Referral/Consult

SJP:rab (11) 100-105395
62 FEB 28 1967

NOT RECORDED CONTINUED - OVER
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE
FEB 24 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

ORIGINAL FILED: FEB 24 1967

Memorandum D. J. Brennan, Jr. to W. C. Sullivan
RE: [REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

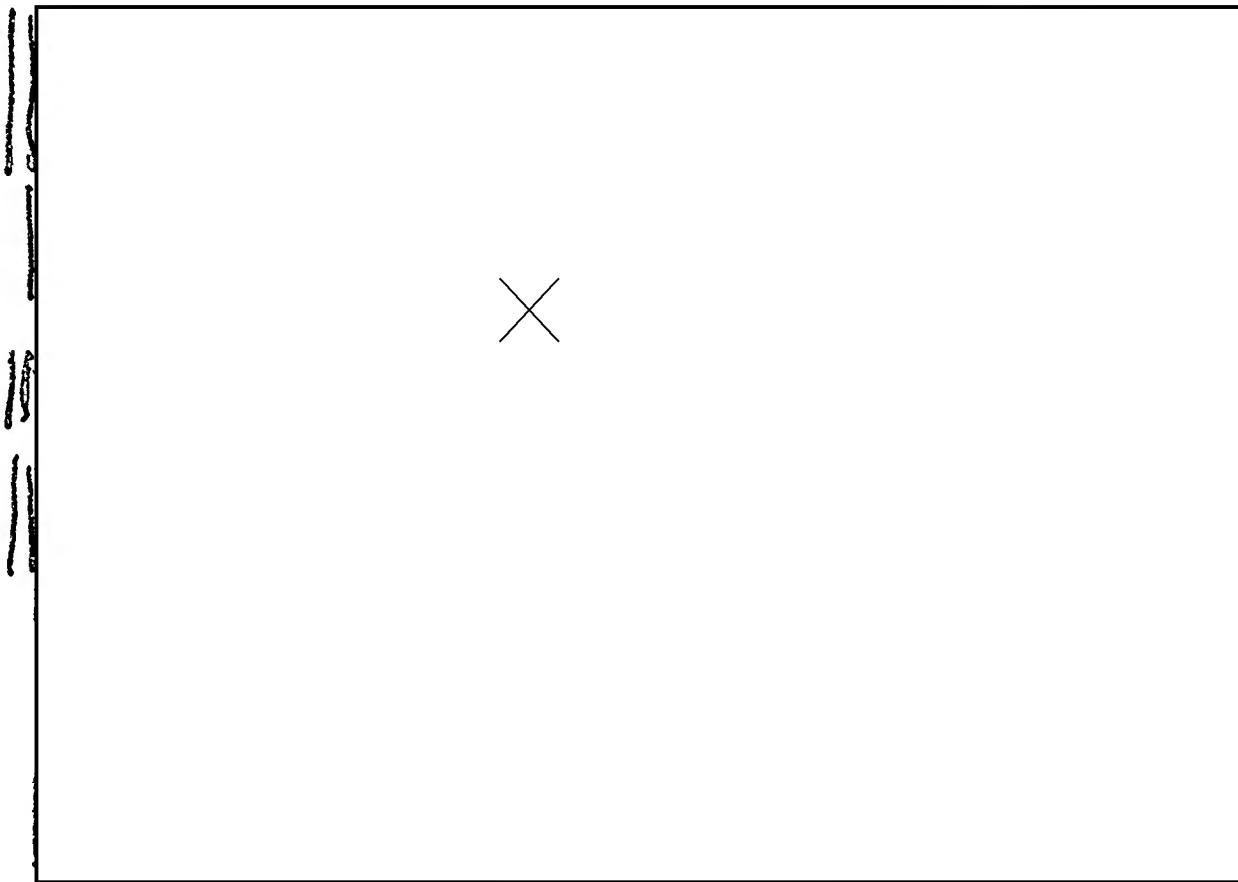
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum D. J. Brennan Jr. to W. C. Sullivan
RE: [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ACTION:

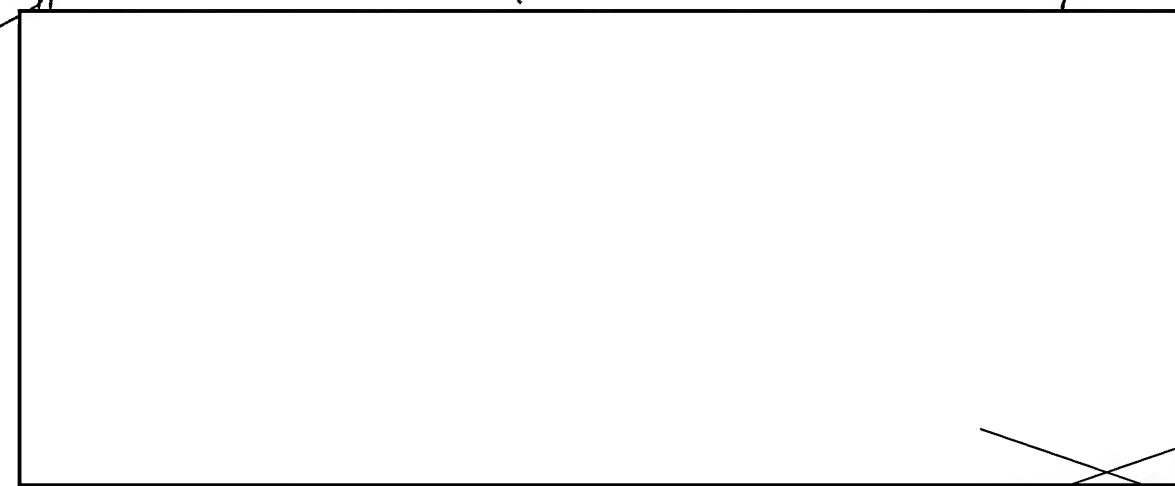
Referral/Consult

For information.

SP

W

MB



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum from Mr. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan
RE: THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

~~SECRET~~

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information

b7D

~~SECRET~~ wob

SAC, Denver

2/2/67

Director, FBI (100-415762)

PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY
RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Miss Butler
1 - Publications Subscriptions
Control Folder

"Ramparts," formerly claimed to be a Catholic lay magazine (1962-1964), is now self described as "part of the liberal press." This monthly is published by Ramparts Magazine, Inc., 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302; a yearly subscription is \$7.

You are authorized to arrange directly for one subscription, for one year, to "Ramparts" for the use of the Bureau. Issues should be forwarded promptly, on a regular basis, to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

The instructions set forth in the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section G 14, page 6a, should be followed in handling the above subscription.

The Bureau should be advised 30 days prior to the expiration of this initial subscription to allow sufficient time to consider renewal.

1 - Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division
(Route through for review)

1 - Mr. E. P. Dow (6221, 100-445393)

① - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

AMB:vjr
(12)

DUPLICATE YELLOW
100 FEB 8 1967

NOT RECORDED

NOTE: SA B. A. Wells, Internal Security Section, is requesting subscription to have available additional coverage of international news by the liberal press. "Ramparts," formerly claimed to be a Catholic lay magazine (1962-1964), is now self described as "part of the liberal press." The magazine has left wing policy toward Vietnam and is very anti-Bureau. After routing, the magazine will be filed in Publications Files, Identification Building.

FEB 14 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/1/80 BY [initials]

ORIGINAL FILED IN
100-445762

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

DATE: MARCH 1, 1967

Page A861. Congressman Bennett, (D) Florida, placed in the Record a news article written by Carl T. Rowan which appeared in the Washington Star on February 24th. Mr. Rowan made reference to a report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, which was passed among several top officials in Washington. Mr. Rowan stated, "It said that an editor of Ramparts magazine had come to Prague and held 'a long, secret session' with officers of the Communist-controlled International Union of Students. Ramparts is the magazine that exposed the fact that the CIA has been financing the National Students Association, - - - - . I learned that the Prague visitor was supposed to be Robert Scheer, Ramparts' managing editor."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/12/84 BY SP-1/Mas/cj

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/80 BY [Signature]

100-445393-
NOT RECORDED
102 MAR 13 1967

In the original form of memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for MARCH 28, 1967 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

Original filed in: 66-11731-3032

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP1 Mac/pt

100-445393-25

CHANGED TO

62-11839-X1

MAY 11 1971

mt/mg

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *(initials)*

FROM : S. J. Papich *(initials)*

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

DATE: 2/23/67

1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

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C. D. Brennan
DeLoach

Referral/Consult

SGP/M

1)

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Referral/Consult

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SPECIFICALLY
IDENTIFIED
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5010-106
REASON-FCIM II. 1-2-4.3
DATE OF REVIEW 2/23/97
REC. # 100-44532-265

CONFIDENTIAL

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 3

30 FEB 28 1967

7172 B 759
MAD 4 7M007

Conrad

Memorandum S. J. Papich to D. J. Brennan, Jr.
RE: RAMPARTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3) [redacted]

4) "Another FBI source reported on 31 January 1966 that a Communist Party meeting was held [redacted] during which Gus Hall, National Officer of the Communist Party, USA, stated that the party had made a decision in this district that their chief emphasis would be [redacted] Hall instructed that as many youths as possible should become involved in this campaign."

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5) [redacted]

6) "An FBI report of 31 May 1962 stated that the 12 December, 1961 issue of The Daily Californian, the student newspaper of the University of California, contained a letter which described as a "smear" a Daily Californian editorial critical of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The letter was signed by Scheer and one Barbara Garson."

[redacted] An FBI source reported on 11 May 1960 that the Young Socialist Assistance was dominated and controlled by the Socialist Workers Party, an organization designated by the U.S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450." (Bureau memorandum dated 5/31/62 captioned "Student Council Fair Play for Cuba Committee.")

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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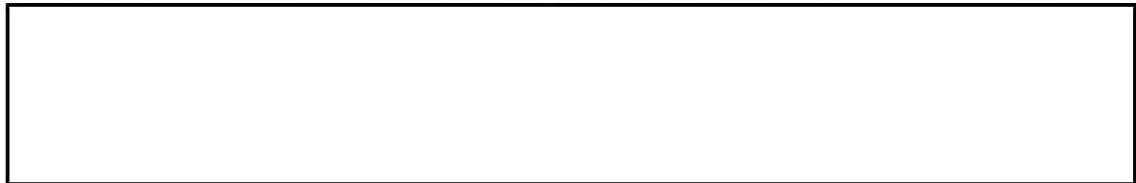
Memorandum S. J. Papich to D. J. Brennan, Jr.
RE: RAMPARTS

ACTION:

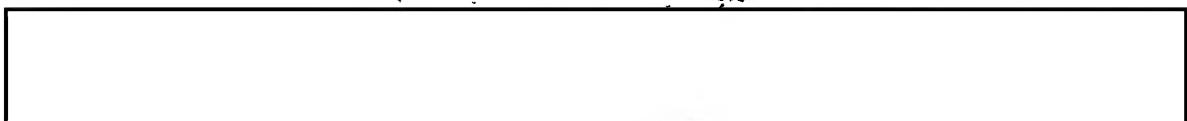
The above information is being directed to the
attention of the Internal Security Section.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADDENDUM INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION JHK:pdb 2/24/67



DRK JH DS Referral/Consult



WHD GHD



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DJB*

SUBJECT: [Redacted]

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan

DATE: February 18, 1967

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Referral/Consult

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

CONTINUED - OVER

6 FEB 24 1967

SEE ADDENDUM PAGES TWO AND THREE

NOT RECORDED
87 FEB 24 1967

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP/LS/ST/HC
REASON-FCIM LI. 1-5-4-2
DATE OF REVIEW 2/18/87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 FEB 24 1967

7172

79 FEB 27 1967

ORIGINAL FILE IN 62-3897-4536

B
Memorandum D.J. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

ACTION:

For information.

✓ W.C.S?

✓ *PCW*

Referral/Consult

W.C.S
ADDENDUM: WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN:hrt 2-20-67

[REDACTED]

ADDENDUM (continued page 3)

Over

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SULLIVAN
RE: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referral/Consult

ADDENDUM: (continued)



Very true.
C/S

✓ ✓

123

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"We want the Church to practice what it preaches, and we extend that in terms of the whole American tradition, for the country to practice what the Constitution preaches."

Only a handful of the 50-man staff now are Catholics, and the magazine has no religious flavor or church backing. Seven individuals, including Mr. Keating, a former realty investor, have put an estimated \$1.2 million into it. At 75 cents a copy, its circulation is now about 190,000 and the CIA story is expected to increase that to 225,000 this issue.

LITTLE ADVERTISING

But the magazine has almost no advertising, and staggers from issue to issue thru a sea of red ink. Sometimes it just quietly skips putting out an issue for financial reasons.

Not everyone approves of the magazine. A Michigan State University professor said, "it prints lies" and called it "an outspoken advocate of the Viet Cong."

A former editor, Ralph J. Geason, now a consultant, said: "There are no communists on Ramparts but all the staff are radicals. Many have little or no professional experience and sometimes don't let facts stand in their way."

To this Mr. Hinkle countered: "The only people who cry 'hatchet job' are those who have been hatcheted. Every major story has stood up. We've never been sued or asked for a retraction. Our research is careful. Eleven people worked on the CIA story for two months."

He predicted future issues would "look into other public institutions — some of them are foundations — which we suspect are secretly connected to the Government."

1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan

W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/17/67

C. D. Brennan

1 - DJ Brennan
1 - CD Brennan
1 - BA Wells

~~INFORMATION CONTAINED~~ Referral/Consult
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

We have not investigated "Ramparts" magazine. It was established in 1962 by Edward M. Keating, a former realty investor and attorney. Keating is presently listed as its Publisher and Editor-in-Chief. "Ramparts" is headquartered at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It recently claimed a circulation of 190,000 per month.

Keating has stated that the magazine was established to provide a platform for Catholic writers; however, he later invited contributions from "Protestants, Jews and agnostics" when he found there were few Catholic writers and intellectuals around. "Ramparts" caters to the sensational-type article and during the past years has devoted a large amount of space to articles critical of United States policy toward Vietnam.

This is the same magazine which carried an article written by a disgruntled former Agent, William Turner, in which he exposed and was highly critical of the Bureau's role in wiretapping and other intelligence techniques.

"Ramparts" calls itself an "independent liberal magazine of dissent." It opposes our Vietnam policy; wants the House Committee on Un-American Activities abolished; condemned United States action in the Dominican Republic; and urges the admission of Red China to the United Nations.

"Ramparts" staff includes such individuals as Paul Jacobs, a self-admitted former member of the Young Communist

1 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

100-445393
NOT RECORDED

1 100-346566 (National Student Association) 87 FEB 24 1967
BAW:pdb

(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

62 FEB 28 1967

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: [redacted]

Referral/Consult

League and the Revolutionary Workers League, both of which have been cited by the Attorney General; Robert Scheer, a former member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-Castro organization, who has been highly critical of our Vietnam policy; Jessica Mitford, a former member of the Communist Party; Dr. Carlton C. Goodlett, a Negro physician and newspaper publisher and a former member of the Communist Party; Dr. Gerald M. Feigan, who received a discharge from the Army in 1943 for psychiatric reasons; Don Rothenberg, a former member of the Communist Party who has been extremely active in the liberal Democratic Party faction in California;

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A "Ramparts" spokesman was quoted in "The Washington Daily News," 2/17/67, as stating that "Ramparts" is "a spiritual descendant of the best muckrakers in history." A former editor was quoted as stating that all of the "Ramparts" staff are "radicals" and that many of them "don't let facts stand in their way."

ACTION:

[redacted]
Referral/Consult

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : D. J. Brennan, Jr. *1/1/67*

FROM : S. J. Papich *1/1/67*

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" *1/1/67*

~~SECRET~~

REFERRAL DOCUMENT

FOI/PA #	249270
APPENDIX #	1
CIVIL ACT #	57
E.O. #	10356
DATE	10/2/64
INFILED	1/1/67

REC-14

Tolson _____
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advised the Liaison Agent on 3/3/67 that the Bureau may be interested in retaining the following described items enclosed herewith for possible future reference. *(u)*

- (1) Identities of individuals on masthead of the captioned publication and contributors. *(u)*
- (2) A list of individuals connected with Radical Education Project. Some of these allegedly are associated with "Ramparts." *(u)*
- (3) An undated circular allegedly published by the Radical Education Project which describes the organization and objectives of the Radical Education Project. *(u)*

ACTION:

Para 1234 Declassified per CIA letter
Date 11/13/85 - H 285-0116

The above information and enclosures are being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.

Enc.

SJP:jad *jad*
(4)

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - S. J. Papich

Distribution: *1/1/67* Bon

FBI: pap, para 1-4

Class: *Secret* by *1/1/67**1/1/67* *6/5/67*

CLASSIFIED AND

EXTENDED BY *2/23/67* *2/26/67* *6/5/67*

REASON FOR EXTENSION

ICM, II, 1-2-4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR

3/1/67 DECLASSIFICATION

EX-112 REC-14 100-445393-2 1/27/84

FOI/PA 249270
CLASSIFIED BY SP1 Mac/gle
DECLASSIFY BY QADR

25 MAR 9 1967

5-710

~~SECRET~~

31 MAR 201967

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED

Radical Education Project

510 EAST WILLIAM STREET • ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48108 • 313 761-1320

An independent education, research and publication program, initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America.

Dear Friend,

The Radical Education Project (REP), initiated by SDS, has been organized as an intellectual center for the American New Left. Through documentation and analysis REP seeks to deepen radical left opposition in this country.

Its growth reflects a recognition by activists in the movement that opposition requires more than passion and idealism.

Intellectually, we must equip outrage with precision. We need concrete analysis, documented critique, and clear proposals for change.

Organizationally, we must build roots in every major section of the American community -- in the professions, in the academic disciplines, in the arts, in unions, in churches, in suburbs, as well as in the ghettos and in student bodies.

Though initiated by SDS, REP seeks to engage more than students. It addresses itself to thinkers of competence -- whatever their age, class, credentials -- who share a commitment to the ideals of radical democracy. REP is in urgent need of your scientific, social, and artistic skills, and in urgent need of money.

The REP Staff

P.S. Some of our programs are already under way and others now are being launched. A description of our work is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE

100-845353-27

THE RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT: An Introduction and An Invitation.

REP is an effort by activists and intellectuals to develop a research, education, and publication center designed to strengthen the movement toward a new left in America.

REP invites the participation of all people who identify with the forces of radical democracy in America and abroad. We seek everyone who can make a contribution to the intellectual and educational work of research, speculation, writing, and speaking, which is a necessary precondition for effective politics.

REP sees three central needs, and from them it defines three objectives:

- 1) The need for competent research on the issues of left program and theory. It is no recent revelation that the theoretical framework of the left needs development in terms of the contemporary character of imperialism, capitalism, mass culture, technology, abundance, and in terms of the experience of socialist revolutions and American reforms. Nor is it a new discovery that the left is starved for the hard data, documentation and concrete proposals necessary for effective political action. REP seeks fact and theory and program.
- 2) The need to educate the student activists who are now drawn toward the radical movement on "single issues" such as Vietnam or poverty, or on "gut reaction" against the whole of American society. Unless action is supported by education youthful recruits are soon lost. A chief job of the student movement is to provide activists with the intellectual equipment and tools of social analysis necessary to sustain radical value commitment once away from the campus. REP seeks to develop needed educational resources.
- 3) The need to extend the movement beyond students and the most dispossessed. While we can lament the obvious fact that a politically significant left does not exist in America, it is clear that to build such requires striking roots in the professions, among university faculties, in the arts and in many of the "mass organizations" like churches, unions, etc. Not only must the radical sympathies that lie in these diverse social locations be mobilized, but these people must be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the particular conditions of their own life and work. REP will try to broaden the scope of the movement.

The narrowness of the movement prevents it from describing tasks which can define for a teacher radical work, as a teacher, for a researcher or a doctor or lawyer, or artist or writer, radical work that draws on his particular talents and affects his particular part of society. The consequence is that most people support occasional protests and otherwise withdraw into cynicism.

We believe that radicals must make their politics manifest in their daily life and work. There is no politically neutral activity. The use of one's talents, the direction of one's energies has effect. The greatest moral and political challenge facing leftists is how both to live in America, to work in the institutions which provide income and status--and yet to change America. We don't have simple answers. And we approach this problem humbly, as one which affects and torments all of us.

REP seeks to create a framework in which people can create for themselves radical vocations which both affirm their individual talents and training and infuse their

work with a moral and political purpose.

Our Politics:

REP does not start with a political line. It recognizes that ideology, theory, is essential for a political movement. But ideology is not an intellectual overlay. It must develop organically out of the interaction between political experience and continual analysis. REP hopes to contribute to this process by encouraging analysis, by checking old theory against current fact and experience, and by distilling from experience new theory and new implications for action. We seek clarity of values, precision in social criticism, concreteness in projecting both utopian alternatives and immediate reforms. We seek, by using all the tools of intellect and intuition, a view of the dynamics of history and social change which points to the forms of human intervention which can transform the present into a future fit for man.

While we do not start with a propackaged ideology, we do begin with political convictions. Formulations are tentative, if only to avoid retreat to the slogans and cliches that have too long dominated the left and impeded self-analysis. Yet, the need for continual refinement of analysis does not imply permanent agnosticism, the postponement of assertion or the retreat from action.

We identify with a community and vision of democratic radicalism, humanistic, committed to individual freedom and the general welfare. These are beliefs shared by this community:

- that the great promise of American abundance is perverted and thwarted by the functioning of contemporary capitalism.
- that privilege, exploitation, inequality as components of class division of labor are no longer necessary, if they ever were, as conditions for abundance.
- that the possibility of still greater wealth for some Americans can not justify a political economy based on the exploitation of other countries and the continued poverty and oppression of their populations.
- that the forms of democracy cannot be judged in the abstract, apart from the actual freedom and humanness which they allow and the actual accountability of the holders of power to those affected by the decisions of power.
- that in America, where formal democracy is highly developed, the important decisions governing the course of social development and the quality of individual life and opportunity are not democratically made or accountable.
- that America is held in political and moral stalemate not only by sheer economic and political force, but also by a deadening ideology of national chauvinism, celebrating the American Way of Life, the American Dream, the American Century.
- that anti-communism is a central element in this ideological manipulation of belief, of what is true, what is good, what is possible, what is necessary. It provides the cover to "rationalize" the most brutal applications of military and economic power.

--that violent revolution is to be recognized and deplored for its high human cost; but that where the oppressed lack political power violent overthrow may be the necessary, though not sufficient, precondition to economic and political freedom.

--that issues such as the war in Vietnam or the oppression of the American underclass cry out for action. The work for long-term research, education, organization, theory, does not relieve the obligation for immediate, passionate protest.

These statements are certainly no catechism. They do begin to define a political perspective. If your disagreements are marginal--questions of qualifiers, semantics, omissions, implications, emphases--then we consider you a colleague and associate. We invite your participation in REP and in the collective work of clarifying belief and infusing action with analysis. If your disagreements are central and substantive, then we consider you audience and antagonist. We invite your participation in political debate.

REP is non-exclusionist. We reject the rhetoric of anti-communism and the myth of human affairs as a morality play between the forces of good and evil, capitalist freedom and communist slavery. We are open to all those who would feel comfortable in our company. Our criteria of judgment in matters of politics and belief will be facts, argument, and values.

The Scope of REP:

The REP staff has prepared a prospectus for the project which describes in detail the range of subject matter which we see as relevant and for which we are recruiting competence. If you are interested in the project, we will send you this prospectus. Here we want simply to indicate the scope of our concern.

I. Values and Utopias: The foundation of a movement is its moral position, its aspiration, its assertion of the possible and the desirable. The value issues of democracy, individual freedom, and general welfare in industrial society and in revolutionary ferment are complex, but that does not make them less important. Political judgments are ultimately value judgments. But more than clarity about values in the abstract, we need to develop concrete models of the structure of institutions and social relations that would embody our shared ideals--the nature of work and income, the control of production, the process of education, the styles of family life, the political institutions necessary for participatory democracy.

II. Analysis of Myths and Realities: The major part of REP work, and the major intellectual and educational need of the movement, is the analysis of what exists, of the myths through which people understand or misunderstand reality, and of the contradictions between myth and reality which provide leverage for change. Special studies will be organized on:

**the American Ideology (pluralism, corporatism, anti-communism, etc.)

**the world reality: international political economy, western Europe, the third world, global conditions and issues.

**problems and structures of the national political economy.

**cultural institutions in tension.

**mass media and the arts.

III. Strategies for Change: The movement must analyze not only the targets of change and the forces of motion in society, but also how to orient and develop its own resources in terms of those forces. REP projects five types of studies in this area:

- **an analysis of social movements and revolution, both in America and elsewhere in terms of their relevance to the contemporary situation.
- **articulation and debate between various theoretical conceptions of political strategy.
- **analysis of the movement itself and identification of current strategic issues.
- **an analysis of agents of reform and potential agents of change in America.

Finally we will try to identify the current issues of struggle in America and make concrete proposals which are relevant to the immediate aspirations of those in struggle, but which expose the institutional blocks to significant change. Such issues requiring specific analysis and proposals include (besides the War and poverty): university education, urban planning and renewal, automation and employment, income, welfare, collective bargaining, economic development, etc.

We are seeking people who have interests and competence in these areas to work with REP.

Activities:

In the few months since its initiation, REP has drawn together a nucleus of people and begun work on a wide variety of activities. Some of these programs are described below. Details and other programs are elaborated in the REP prospectus. The fulfillment and expansion of these programs depend on the intellectual commitment and financial contribution of supporters.

Seminars and study groups: The establishment of an ongoing program of self-education in local chapters and projects of the movement is a high priority of REP. A first step is the aid and encouragement of seminars and the establishment of a speakers bureau. We are collecting and preparing seminar guides, speakers lists, papers, bibliographies, literature packets, and other educational tools on a wide range of topics: imperialism, relationships between foreign and domestic policy, the American economy, socialism, democracy under capitalism, Vietnam, poverty, community organization, South Africa, etc. Study guides now available include ones on decision-making in America, Marxism, the New Left, history of American radicalism, U.S. foreign policy and imperialism, urban politics. A film catalogue which includes a guide on how to set up a local film program is also available. While most of the seminars will be run informally and independently, an effort will be made to cooperate with "Free University" programs and, where possible, to get programs introduced into the regular college curriculum. At a later stage we hope to be able to develop "traveling workshops" that would bring teams of people with complementary areas of competence to a locale for intensive programs of coordinated education. Resources permitting, we plan to make our educational services available to any group willing to entertain a radical perspective.

Reconstruction of academic theory and teaching: We have begun to prepare pamphlet guides to introductory liberal arts courses in Economics and Anthropology. These outlines will try to expose and analyze the biases and limitations of conventional undergraduate teaching and taxation; the trained eye will see a great many things that are not taught in canonized methodology, the questions unanswered, the data and

theories neglected, the conditions of the real world overlooked, the history untold, the indoctrination accomplished. Outlines will include "scenarios" of questions and answers to help the student introduce relevant material and become an innovator in the class room, and keep the instructor from getting off the hook. There is need for similar work in Sociology, Political Science, History, Philosophy, the Humanities--indeed in every department of professional knowledge on the advanced as well as introductory level. What is needed, in fact, is a concrete and documented critique of the academic disciplines as a whole, showing how their structure and content reinforce the dominant interests and prejudices of the society and stifle relevance and social innovation. The course pamphlets are a beginning toward this work.

Papers from the New Left: REP is currently working on a book, to be published by Doubleday-Anchor, including more than a dozen essays of original analysis. These papers are attempting to systematize both the empirical foundation and theoretical orientation from which the movement looks at such issues as corporatism, imperialism, the welfare state, planning, education, the war on poverty and alliance for progress, race, work and leisure, electoral politics, mass culture, participatory democracy, liberal reform.

International Intelligence network: REP is beginning to develop a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop--and before. Such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, etc., can provide us with first-hand reports and analysis of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. Already we have contacts in Japan, most European countries and Canada, Vietnamese rebels and neutrals, African nationalists, and others. These contacts are being extended, and to them we must add American scholars with specialized knowledge and contacts. One former staff member has recently returned from Guatemala where he has made extensive contacts with Guatemalan guerrillas. He will be publishing an account of his trip in the next month or two. On the basis of such contacts we can greatly improve our ability to produce documented political analysis, to make independent judgments, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition.

As a first major step in this direction, REP is presently consulting with the University Christian Movement, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and SNCC about the establishment of a Latin American institute. This institute will coordinate research, monitor information, and maintain contacts between radical student, church, and academic groups in this hemisphere. In the near future the institute would put out a magazine on Latin American problems.

Nations series: REP is undertaking to prepare a series of pamphlets summarizing information about other countries: the nature of their politics, parties, factions, contending positions, economic structure and development, character of the democratic opposition, their international relations, the role of U.S. business, political and military interests in the country, the position in the cold war and third world power contexts, etc. These will include annotated bibliography and a guide to primary source material. Research for pamphlets of this sort is nearing completion on the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, South Africa, Algeria, Vietnam, China. We will try to search out work of this sort that has already been done and make it available.

Issues of strategy in the movement: REP will undertake analysis of various strategic-theory myths that are current on the left: reform coalitions, third party organization, permeation, non-violence, independent insurgency. Two of these studies are now under way: a pamphlet examining the "black power-black consciousness" idea which has come to the forefront of the Negro movement and a series of papers on community organizing.

Class in America: REP is undertaking a number of studies on the nature of class structure in America, its relationship to political power, economic and social aspirations, belief in the American ideology, etc. An exploratory study is under way reexamining a range of existing data on political consciousness of blue collar workers, with the hope of developing a new view of working class politics and laying out new areas of research. We have produced a paper outlining the nature of class division between the underclass and the affluent with particular reference to the war on poverty and the viability of welfare state reforms.

The professions: REP is attempting to set up organizing conferences of radicals in, or preparing for, the various professions. Work has begun to set up planning groups in social work, medicine, law, school teaching, the ministry. The aims of these conferences will be to bring together from dispersed geographical locations people sharing political perspective and professional location; to discuss ways to influence the service quality and social impact of the profession; to plan pamphlets and speaking programs aimed at intervening in the process of professional education, making values explicit; to formulate programs that could improve professional practice; to organize (or support existing) professional associations or caucuses committed to radical social involvement.

The arts and mass media: REP seeks to understand the ideological functioning of art and the mass media, the relationship between aesthetic and political consciousness, and the potential of the arts and mass media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which art and the mass media are created and controlled how they are perceived by their publics, and the role they actually play in forming taste, thought patterns and opinions. Studies will seek to locate and encourage elements within the arts and media favorable to radical change. To initiate these studies, REP plans to organize three conferences: on the mass media and leisure, on social values and city planning, and on education in the arts. These conferences will aim to bring together people of different disciplines whose interests converge around these areas, to clarify problems and research needs, and to translate theory into tasks. The working papers for these conferences might later be edited into a book on the arts and society.

Development of research techniques: we are planning two small conferences on methodology of power structure analysis. One will deal with domestic power and the other with American power internationally. Both will be concerned with alternative research strategies, sources of data, access to privileged information, techniques of prediction, measurement of coalitions, interlocking interests, ideological constraints on action, etc. We are now completing research guides to aid students and others in the analysis of community power structure, national decision-making, foreign policy formation, etc.

The REP Bulletin: REP will publish a Bulletin distributed to SDS members, REP associates, and other subscribers. It will contain original research, issue analysis, book reviews, short papers, seminar outlines, bibliography, abstracts

of articles from other publications, letters and discussion, conference notes, etc. In conjunction with the Bulletin, the products of REP research will be published as a series of pamphlets. Bulletin and pamphlet publication will begin as editorial work is completed, and as we have money. As a temporary measure, until resources and staff for a Bulletin are available, a newsletter, giving current information about REP activities, is now being published.

Work and Money: REP will complete its ongoing program and expand into other areas as people volunteer to do the work and provide the money. We are now recruiting staff for the REP national office in Ann Arbor, and coordinators, anywhere, to take on responsibility in promoting particular content areas of analysis. A fifteen person committee of directors will be appointed in December. Job descriptions for staff and more detail on the tasks for which coordinators are needed are available from the REP office. We have also worked out a tentative set of editorial guidelines and procedures for the initiation of program and research which we hope will insure the REP work is of high quality and in fact relevant to the needs of the movement. These procedures are also available from the office. The types of jobs we are asking people to undertake include: research, writing, editing, speaking, consulting with students and activists in the movement. We hope that people who share the political ideals of the movement will find in these jobs a way to make effective use of their particular talents, competences and experience.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your intellectual commitment is necessary.

Funds: REP is incorporated as a non-profit, educational organization, with its tax-exempt status pending. Of course it has no money. Of course it freeloads where it can. Of course, the staff is starving. Of course it will seek support from foundations and private donors. ULTIMATELY, though, the project will depend on the small contributions and monthly pledges of those individuals who support its objectives and participate in its activities.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your financial support is essential.

Associates and advisors: Supporters of the project will be considered associates of REP. We are inviting a number of associates to help as "advisors" in promotion, criticism of research, program organization, fundraising and other tasks. A partial list of advisors to this time is:

Ralph Andreano; Fr. Philip Berrigan, SSJ; Julian Bond; Robert S. Browne; ✓ Richard A. Cloward; Stanley Diamond; Douglas F. Dowd; Hal Draper; Barrows Dunham; Robert Engler; Jules Feiffer; W.H. Ferry; Dr. Philip S. Foner; Norm Fruchter; William A. Gamson; John Gerassi; Ernest Goodman; Paul Goodman; Nat Hentoff; David Horowitz; Leo Huberman; Raghavan Iyer; Paul Jacobs; Julius Jacobson; Gabriel Kolko; Andrew Kopkind; William Kunstler; Paul Lauter; Richard Lichtman; Staughton Lynd; Herbert Marcuse; Seymour Melman; Jack Minnis; Barrington Moore, Jr.; Linus Pauling; Victor Perlo; Bishop James A. Pike; Marcus Raskin; Kenneth Rexroth; Sumner M. Rosen; Richard Shauall; Robert W. Spike; Sol Stern; Harvey Swados; Michael Walzer; Arthur I. Waskow; Harvey Wheeler; William Appleman Williams; Marshall Windmiller; Howard Zinn.

The REP staff is currently: Michael Locker, Evelyn Goldfield, Michael Goldfield, Jim Jacobs, Steve Weissman, Steve Johnson, Peter Henig, and Rita Sutcliffe.

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